The Ancestry and Theology of the Rite of Major Exorcism (1999/2004)

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This study analyzes the *Ritus exorcismi maioris* or rite of major exorcism promulgated in 1999 and emended in 2004, in relation to its predecessors in Latin liturgical books. Its proximate or immediate predecessor is the *Ritus exorcizandi obsessos a daemonio* or rite of exorcizing those possessed by a demon in the *Rituale Romanum* of 1953.[1] The rite of 1953 provides the primary point of comparison for the purpose of expounding the history and theology of the rite of 1999/2004.

I. OVERVIEW OF *RITUS EXORCIZANDI OBSESSOS A DAEMONIO* (1953)

After privately preparing for the major exorcism in the *Rituale Romanum* of 1953 [henceforth RR 1953] with confession, Mass, and prayers for divine help, the priest acting as exorcist begins with the sign of the cross, the aspersion of holy water, and the litany of the saints. The litany concludes with an antiphon: "Do not be mindful, Lord, of our failings or those of our parents: and do not take vengeance for our sins."[2] Following that, the exorcist says the Lord's Prayer silently until

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1   An initial distinction is in order between major and minor exorcisms. The major exorcism is for an energumen, that is, a man or woman possessed by one or more demons. Minor exorcisms, on the other hand, are for catechumens. The Church's tradition also encompasses numerous exorcisms of objects or places, which are also outside the scope of this paper.

2   "Ne reminiscaris, Domine, delicta nostra, vel parentum nostrorum: neque vindictam sumas de peccatis nostris." All citations and references to the rite of 1953 are drawn from Titulus XII: De exorcizandis obsessis a daemonio, in *Rituale Romanum: editio prima post typicam anno 1953 promulgata*, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae Subsidia: Instrumenta Liturgica Quarreriensia Supplementa 6 (Rome: C.L.V.-Edizione Liturgiche, 2001) [henceforth RR 1953] §§ 2867-948, pp. 857-96 (original pp. 839-78). This antiphon reflects the text of Tobit 3:3 in *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. Robert Weber et al. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1969) 678: "ne vindictam sumas de peccatis meis neque reminiscaris delicta mea vel parentum meorum;" all subsequent references to the Vulgate refer to this edition, and all Psalm references follow the Vulgate numbering. The antiphon *Ne reminiscaris* also appeared in the priest's Praeparatio ad Missam, in *Missale Romanum editio princeps (1570)*, ed. Manlio Sodi and Achille Maria

the verse "and lead us not into temptation," to which those present respond, "but deliver us from the Evil One." The *circumstantes*, those present for the exorcism, must be very few in number.[3] If they utter the responsories of the rite, then they must have, at a minimum, training similar to that of altar servers.

Psalm 53 (*Deus in nomine tuo*) is read as a tract in its entirety, followed by a series of versicles and responses. The exorcist then utters the first orations (orations 1 and 2),[4] which consist of several petitions addressed to God: that the possessed be absolved from sin; that the Father might hasten to help the possessed (identified in the rubrics as *obsessus*); that the Lord might grant his servants confidence to fight against "the most wicked dragon;" and that God might deliver the possessed from the Devil's hands. Next the exorcist demands that the spirit reveal its name, designate the time of its entry or departure, obey the exorcist, and not harm the energumen (that is, the person possessed), those present, or their goods.[5]

Next the exorcist reads John 1:1-14. At the beginning of the Gospel reading, he signs both himself and the possessed on forehead, mouth, and chest. Additional readings from the Gospels may be added: Mark 16:15-18, Luke 10:17-20, and Luke 11:14-22. Following the Gospel readings, another prayer (oration 3) is addressed to Christ, in which the priest alludes to Gospel passages recounting Christ's victory over demons and humbly beseeches forgiveness of sins, constancy of faith, and power against the cruel demon. Then the priest signs himself and the possessed with the cross, places the end of his stole on the neck

Triacca (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1998) § 47, p. 27. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

3   Norm 15, in RR 1953 § 2881: "circumstantes, qui pauci esse debent."

4   For convenience, the formulae in question are labeled as follows: oration 1 corresponds to RR 1953 § 2898; oration 2, § 2899; oration 3, § 2908; oration A, § 2913; oration B, § 2917; oration C, § 2921; exorcism A, § 2914; exorcism B, § 2918; exorcism C, § 2922.

5   RR 1953 § 2900: "Praecipio tibi, quicumque es, spiritus immunde, et omnibus sociis tuis hunc Dei famulum (hanc Dei famulam) obsidentibus: ut ... dicas mihi nomen tuum, diem et horam exitus tui, cum aliquo signo: et ut mihi Dei ministro licet indigno, prorsus in omnibus obedias: neque hanc creaturam Dei, vel circumstantes, aut eorum bona ullo modo offendas." The word *exitus* here may indicate the demon's past act of leaving its usual place and entering into the possessed, rather than its future act of departing from the possessed, particularly in light of norm 15, in RR 1953 § 2881: "Necessariae vero interrogationes sunt, ex. gr., de numero et nomine spirituum obsidentium, de tempore quo ingressi sunt, de causa, et aliis hujusmodi."

of the possessed, and lays his right hand upon the head of the pos-
sessed, while commanding the hostile forces: "Behold the cross of the
Lord: flee, hostile forces" (*Ecce Crucem Domini, fugite, partes adversae*),
to which the response is: "The lion from the tribe of Judah, the root
of David, has conquered" (*Vicit leo de tribu Juda, radix David*).

There follows a series of three alternating orations and exorcisms.
These ancient formulae constitute the heart of the rite, and so the
analyses below will focus on them. Each oration addressed to God
is introduced by standard versicles and responses: "Lord, hear my
prayer. / And let my cry come to you. / The Lord be with you. / And
with your spirit."[6]

The Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, Creed, *Magnificat*, and *Benedictus*
may be repeated over the afflicted as much as necessary during this
period. The rite does not specify the exact manner in which these com-
mon prayers are to be recited: those assisting might say them silently
or aloud throughout the proceedings, or the exorcist might join them
at various breaks within the rite. Next comes the Athanasian Creed,
followed by a number of psalms. Since these are not accompanied by
rubrics, their application is ambiguous. They might be said after the
liberation of the possessed, or repeated along with cycles of orations
and exorcisms until the possessed is freed. The rite ends with an ora-
tion following liberation, which beseeches God that the impure spirit
should not return – a possibility expressed in Luke 12:43-45.

The entire rite can be set forth in tabular form, as below. The
subsequent literary analysis will focus on the formulae designated
by bold lettering in the table: the orations addressed to God and the
commands or exorcisms addressed to the demon. These formulae are
quite ancient, as the brief history of the rite of exorcism in the next
section of this paper will demonstrate.

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6 RR 1953 §§ 2911-12, 2915-16, 2919-20: "Domine, exaudi orationem
meam. / Et clamor meus ad te veniat. / Dominus vobiscum. / Et cum spiritu
tuo."

Ritus exorcizandi obsessos a daemonio (1953)

Preparation of exorcist by confession and Mass
Sign of the cross
Aspersion with holy water
Litany
Antiphon: *Ne reminiscaris, Domine, delicta nostra*
Pater noster
Ps 53: *Deus in nomine tuo*
Versicles and responses: *Salvum (-am) fac servum tuum (ancillam tuam)*, etc.
Oratio [1]: *Deus, cui proprium est misereri*
Oratio [2]: *Domine sancte, Pater*
Praeceptio: *Praecipio tibi*
Gospel reading(s) [*saltem unum*]: Jn 1:1-14; Mk 16:15-18; Lk 10:17-20; Lk 11:14-22
Versicles and responses: *Domine, exaudi orationem meam*, etc.
Oratio [3]: *Omnipotens Domine, Verbum*
Sign of cross, laying on of stole and right hand: *Ecce Crucem Domini*

----------Three cycles of versicles, orations, and exorcisms ----------

Versicles and responses: *Domine, exaudi orationem meam*, etc.
Oratio [A]: *Deus, et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi*
Exorcismus [A]: *Exorcizo te, immundissime spiritus*
Versicles and responses: *Domine, exaudi orationem meam*, etc.
Oratio [B]: *Deus, conditor et defensor generis humani*
Exorcismus [B]: *Adjuro te, serpens antique*
Versicles and responses: *Domine, exaudi orationem meam*, etc.
Oratio [C]: *Deus caeli, Deus terrae, Deus Angelorum*
Exorcismus [C]: *Adjuro ergo te, omnis immundissime spiritus*

---------- End of cycles ----------

Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, Creed, *Magnificat*, and *Benedictus*
Athanasian Creed
Psalms: 90 (*Qui degis in praesidio*), 67 (*Exsurgit Deus*), 69 (*Placeat tibi Deus*), 53 (*Deus in nomine tuo*), 117 (*Gratias agite Domino*), 34 (*Certa Domine*), 30 (*Ad te Domine confugio*), 21 (*Deus meus, Deus meus*), 3 (*Domine quam multi*), 10 (*Ad Dominum confugio*), 12 (*Quousque Domine*)
Oratio post liberationem: *Oramus te, Deus omnipotens*

II. A Brief History of the Rite of Exorcism

In ancient rites for ordaining an exorcist, the candidate receives a *libellus* or booklet containing the formulae of exorcism. Handing him the book, the bishop says: "Receive, and commit to memory, and possess the power of imposing hands upon the energumen, whether baptized or catechumen."[7] It is worth asking exactly what formulae were contained in these booklets and memorized by newly ordained exorcists centuries ago.

Possible answers are found in ancient liturgical books containing texts that were likely derived from earlier *libelli*.[8] One of the earliest is the Frankish Gelasian Sacramentary. An example of this type of sacramentary was copied between A.D. 790 and 800: Latin manuscript 12048 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, known as the Gellone Sacramentary.[9] It contains the text of orations 2, A, and B, and all of exorcisms A and B.[10] Since oration A is the briefest of these, placing the text of the eighth-century manuscript alongside the corresponding prayer in RR 1953 proves a convenient method of illustrating the extent of textual agreement, which is indicated by italics:

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7 E.g., Ordinatio exorcistae, in *Le sacramentaire Gregorien: ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, vol. 1, *Le sacramentaire, le supplement d'Aniane*, 3rd edition, ed. Jean Deshusses, Spicilegium Friburgense 16 (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires, 1992) [henceforth Supplement] § 1795, p. 601: "*Exorcista cum ordinatur accipiat de manu episcopi libellum in quo scripti sunt exorcismi, dicente sibi episcopo*: Accipe et commenda memoriae et habeto potestatem inponendi manum super energuminum siue baptizatum siue caticuminum."

8 See Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, rev. and trans. William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington DC: Pastoral Press, 1986) 261; Pierre-Marie Gy, "Collectaire, rituel, processionnel," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et theologiques* 44 (1960) 457; Pierre-Marie Gy, "The Different Forms of Liturgical *libelli*," in *Fountain of Life*, ed. Gerard Austin (Washington DC: Pastoral Press, 1991) 26-27: "The absence of binding explains why *libelli* are generally not as well preserved as books. It also leads us to suppose that *libelli* were in fact very numerous, but that they more easily wore out, were torn, or were lost."

9 Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 12048, as described in Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 70-71; *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis, textus*, ed. Antoine Dumas, Corpus Christanorum Series Latina [CCSL] 159 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1981) [henceforth Gellone Sacramentary].

10 Orationem super hominem christianum qui a demonio vexatur, in Gellone Sacramentary, §§ 2403-5, pp. 353-55.

Gellone Sacramentary (790-800)	*Rituale Romanum* (1953)
Deus angelorum, deus arcangelorum, deus prophetarum, deus apostulorum, deus martyrum, deus uirginum, *deus pater domini nostri iesu christi, inuoco sanctum nomen tuum* hac preclare maiestatis tuae <*clementiam supplex exposco*> *ut mihi auxilium praestare digneris aduersus hunc* nequissimum *spiritum*, ut ubicumque latet, audito nomini tuo, uelociter exiat et recedat.[11]	*Deus*, et *Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, invoco nomen sanctum tuum*, et *clementiam* tuam *supplex exposco*: *ut adversus hunc*, et omnem immundum *spiritum*, qui vexat hoc plasma tuum, *mihi auxilium praestare digneris.* (or A)[12]

Although the titles of God mentioned in the Gellone Sacramentary are found in oration C rather than oration A of RR 1953,[13] the substance of the prayer above remains largely the same. In both the eighth-century oration and that of RR 1953, the exorcist, in the first person singular, invokes the holy Name of God and his mercy, that God might deign to grant help against the demon. The text of RR 1953 specifies that the exorcist needs help "against this and every unclean spirit, who vexes this your created image" – that is, the person being exorcized. This is a change from the earlier text, which asks for help against "this most wicked spirit, so that wherever it hides, upon hearing your Name, it may quickly come out and depart." Nonetheless, oration A is readily identifiable as the heir of this ancient prayer in the Gellone Sacramentary.

The exorcisms proper – that is, the formulae addressed to the demon and demanding that he depart – demonstrate fewer changes, as the following selection from exorcism A demonstrates:

11   Orationem super hominem christianum qui a demonio vexatur, in Gellone Sacramentary, § 2403, p. 353. The texts quoted from ancient manuscripts and liturgical books in this paper sometimes deviate from classical usage because of developments in the Latin language and scribal or editorial errors; I reproduce the texts exactly as they appear in the editions cited, without any attempt at emending or standardizing spelling or grammar. Cf. the very similar prayer Edmond Martène edits and describes as "ex ms. codice S. Gatiani Turonensis ab annis 800. exarato," in *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus libri*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Antwerp: de la Bry, 1736) cols 978-79.

12   "Or A" corresponds to oration A, "ex A" to exorcism A, etc., as set forth in note 4 above. This convention will be used henceforth within the tables.

13   These titles occur in the address of oration C in RR 1953 § 2921: "Deus caeli, Deus terrae, Deus Angelorum, Deus Archangelorum, Deus Prophetarum, Deus Apostolorum, Deus Martyrum, Deus Virginum, Deus, qui potestatem habes donare vitam post mortem...."

Gellone Sacramentary (790-800)	*Rituale Romanum* (1953)
Adjuro ergo te serpens antique, per iudicem uiuorum et mortuorum, per factorem mundi, per eum qui habet potestatem mittere te in gehennam, ut ab hunc famulum dei qui ad ecclesiae presepia concurrit, cum metu exercitu furoris tui festinus discedas. Adiuro te, non mea infirmitate sed in uirtute spiritus sancti, ut desinas ab his quos omnipotens deus ad imaginem suam fecit. Cede, cede non mihi sed misteriis christi. Illius enim te perurguat potestas, qui te adfygens cruci[s] suae subiugauit. Illius brachium contremisce qui deuictis gemitibus inferni, animas ad lucem produxit. Sit tibi terror corpus hominis, sit tibi formido imago dei, nec resistas nec moreris disce[n]dere ab homine, quoniam complacuit christo ut in homine habitaret. Et ni me infirmissimum contempnendum potis, dum me peccatorem nimes esse cognuscis. Imperat tibi dominus, imperat tibi magistas christi, imperat tibi deus pater, imperat tibi filius et spiritus sanctus, imperat tibi apostulorum fides sancti petri et pauli uel cetirorum apostulorum, imperat tibi indulgentia confessorum, imperat tibi martirum sanguis, imperat tibi sacramentum crucis, imperat tibi misteriorum uirtu[ti]s. Exi transgressor, exi sedoctur, plene omni dolo et fallatia, ueritatis inimice, innocentium persecutor. Da locum, durissime, da loco, impiissime, da locum christo in quo nihil inuenisti de operibus tuis, qui te expoliauit, qui regnum tuum distruxit, qui te uictum ligauit et uasa tua disrupit, qui te proiecit in tenebris exterioris, ubi tibi cum ministris tuis erat preparatus interitus. Sed qui nunc, turbulente recogitas? Quid, temerariae, retractas?[14]	Adjuro te, serpens antique, per judicem vivorum et mortuorum, per factorem tuum, per factorem mundi, per eum, qui habet potestatem mittendi te in gehennam, ut ab hoc famulo Dei N., qui (ab hac famula Dei N., quae) ad Ecclesiae sinum recurrit, cum metu, et exercitu furoris tui festinus discedas. Adjuro te iterum + (in fronte), non mea infirmitate, sed virtute Spiritus Sancti, ut exeas ab hoc famulo Dei N., quem (ab hac famula Dei N., quam) omnipotens Deus ad imaginem suam fecit. Cede igitur, cede non mihi, sed ministro Christi. Illius enim te urget potestas, qui te Cruci suae subjugavit. Illius bracchium contremisce, qui, devictis gemitibus inferni, animas ad lucem perduxit. Sit tibi terror corpus hominis + (in pectore), sit tibi formido imago Dei + (in fronte). Non resistas nec moreris discedere ab homine isto, quoniam complacuit Christo in homine habitare. Et ne contemnendum putes, dum me peccatorem nimis esse cognoscis. Imperat tibi Deus +. Imperat tibi majestas Christi +. Imperat tibi Deus Pater +, imperat tibi Deus Filius +, imperat tibi Deus Spiritus Sanctus +. Imperat tibi sacramentum crucis +. Imperat tibi fides sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et ceterorum Sanctorum +. Imperat tibi Martyrum sanguis +. Imperat tibi continentia Confessorum +. Imperat tibi pia Sanctorum et Sanctarum omnium intercessio +. Imperat tibi christianae fidei mysteriorum virtus +. Exi ergo, transgressor. Exi, seductor, plene omni dolo et fallacia, virtutis inimice, innocentium persecutor. Da locum, dirissime, da locum, impiissime, da locum Christo, in quo nihil invenisti de operibus tuis:

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14   Gellone Sacramentary, § 2405, pp. 354-55.

> qui te spoliavit, qui regnum tuum destruxit, qui te victum ligavit, et vasa tua diripuit: qui te projecit in tenebras exteriores, ubi tibi cum ministris tuis erit praeparatus interitus. Sed quid truculente reniteris? quid temerarie detrectas?[15]

The same extent of literary agreement evident here is found also in the remainder of exorcism B and all of exorcism A with relation to the ancient text of the Gellone Sacramentary. Thus these formulae found in RR 1953 can be traced back as far as a manuscript copied in the late eighth century.

Archaeologism must be avoided; the mere fact that a text is found in an ancient manuscript is no conclusive demonstration that it should be employed in contemporary liturgical books.[16] If such a text has been in continuous use by the Church for over a millennium, however, then it ought to be approached with the reverence due to such a venerable tradition, and it certainly ought not to be dismissed lightly. Evidence from other liturgical books suggests that formulae present in the major exorcism of RR 1953 indeed have been in continuous use from the eighth to the twenty-first century.

The Supplement that Benedict of Aniane (d. 821) added to the papal Gregorian Sacramentary early in the ninth century, contains the entirety of exorcisms A and B and orations 2 and B, along with parts of orations A and C.[17] This version of the Gregorian Sacramentary enjoyed wide circulation. Nevertheless, Gallic clergy also utilized other exorcistic formulae from their own traditions. Thus oration 3 of RR 1953 appears for the first time, along with exorcism C, in a Gallic manuscript.[18] Oration 3 and exorcism C are also found in the scrutinies for catechumens of the Milanese rite, where together they are labeled "Exorcism of Saint Ambrose"[19] – the same designation these formulae

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15   Exorcism B, in RR 1953 § 2918.

16   Note the pointed admonition of Pius XII in "Mediator Dei," *Acta apostolicae sedis* 39 (1947) §§ 61-62, pp. 545-46.

17   Item aliae orationes super energumino baptizato, in Supplement, §§ 1512-14c, pp. 491-94.

18   Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. clm. 17027, ed. Adolph Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, vol. 2 (Freiburg/Bresgau: Herder, 1909) 599-600: [exorcismus super eos], qui a daemonio uexantur; see also Franz, 581-82.

19   Sabbato ante dominicam III de caeco (scrutinium, item ut supra): Exorcismus sancti Ambrosii, in *Enchiridion euchologicum fontium liturgicorum*, ed. Enzo Lodi, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae Subsidia 15 (Rome: C.L.V.-Edizioni Liturgiche, 1979) §§ 2197-97a, pp. 957-58. See also the

are given in the Romano-Germanic Pontifical of the late-tenth century. Traditions of western exorcistic formulae merge in this pontifical, which spread throughout Europe and became particularly influential in Rome.[20] The Romano-Germanic Pontifical contains all of orations 2, 3, and B, all of exorcisms B and C, a significant part of exorcism A, and passages found in orations A and C.[21] Only the brief oration 1 of RR 1953 is unrepresented in the Romano-Germanic Pontifical.

In response to the mandate of the Council of Trent that liturgical books be revised, texts were collected of the various rites that would eventually be included in the *Rituale Romanum* of 1614.[22] One such collection is the *Thesaurus sacerdotalis*, assembled by Francesco Samarino (Samarinus) in response to the council. The *Thesaurus* offers a rite of exorcism purportedly consisting of formulae authored by various saints.[23] It begins with a relatively lengthy set of instructions,

formulae Martène edits "ex ms. codice bibliothecae regiae n. 3866 annorum circiter 600 & Vindocinensi ejusdem aetatis" under the title Exorcismus S. Ambrosii, in *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, vol. 2, col. 990.

20   On the spread and influence of the Romano-Germanic Pontifical, particularly in Rome, see Michel Andrieu, *Les ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, vol. 1, *Les manuscrits* (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1931) 507-25; on the pontifical's merits, see Niels Krogh Rasmussen, *Les pontificaux du haut moyen âge: genèse du livre de l'evêque*, ed. Marcel Haverals (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1998) 490-91.

21   Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, eds, *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du dixième siècle: le texte*, vol. 2, *(Nn. XCIX-CCLVIII)*, Studi e Testi 227 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963) [henceforth PRG]: orations A, B, and 2, along with exorcisms A and B, appear under the title Ad succurrendum his qui a demonio vexantur, in PRG, §§ CXV.31-33, 41, vol. 2, pp. 199-201, 204; oration C is found under Item orationes et exorcismi super eum qui a demonio vexatur, in PRG, § CXVI.2, vol. 2, p. 206; oration 3 and exorcism C appear under Item exorcismus sancti Ambrosii, in PRG, §§ CXVIII.4-6, vol. 2, pp. 213-15.

22   Three Italian editions of considerably greater length and variety preceded the official edition of the *Rituale Romanum* eventually adopted and promulgated by the papacy in 1614: Alberto Castellano [Castellanus or Castellani or de Castello], *Liber sacerdotalis* (Venice, 1523), after 1537 titled *Sacerdotale iuxta sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae ritum*; Francesco Samarino [Samarinus], *Sacerdotale* (Venice, 1579), after 1593 titled *Sacerdotale sive sacerdotum thesaurus*; and Giuseppe Antonio Santori [Sanctorius], *Rituale sacramentorum Romanum Gregorii XIII* (Rome, 1584-1612), the immediate source of the 1614 *Rituale Romanum*. See Vogel, 264-65.

23   Exorcismi contra daemoniacos diuersorum sanctorum, in *Thesaurus sacerdotalis juxta consuetudinem s. Romanae ecclesiae, sacrique Concilii Tridentini sanctiones: quibuscunque sacerdotibus, episcopis et praelatis, necnon cunctis Christi fidelibus pernecessarius, ex diuersis voluminibus compendiose collectus, et in quatuor partes diuisus*, ed. Francisco Samarino (Venice: Ziletto, 1580) ff. 180v-188r.

divided into nine *capitula*, for the exorcist, followed by proper prayers for a Mass to be celebrated before the rite, and finally a series of orations and exorcisms or conjurations (*coniurationes*), interspersed with rubrics and scripture readings.[24] Along with other material, the rite in the *Thesaurus* includes formulae exhibiting numerous features in common with exorcism A of RR 1953,[25] the entirety of exorcisms B and C, a prayer substantially representing oration B, and the entirety of orations 2 and 3.[26]

The *Rituale Romanum* promulgated by Pope Paul V in 1614 represents an organic development in the rite of exorcism. With rather few changes, the 1614 *Ritus exorcizandi obsessos a daemonio* incorporates the prayers of the primitive liturgical books mentioned above – in some cases with more fidelity to the ancient sources than one finds in the *Thesaurus*. For example, exorcism A is found divided with another formula in its midst within the *Thesaurus*, whereas it is one complete unit in the *Rituale* of 1614. On some minor points, however, the editors of the *Rituale* follow alterations to the ancient texts found also in Samarino's *Thesaurus*. For example, Benedict of Aniane's Supplement includes the following line: "He commands you, who ordered you to get behind [him]."[27] Roman liturgists understandably omit-

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24 Exorcismi contra daemoniacos, in *Thesaurus sacerdotalis,* ed. Samarino: Ps 67 (Exsurgat Deus) on ff. 184r-184v; Jn 1:1-14 on f. 186r; Mk 16:14-20 on f. 186v; Lk 10:17-20 on ff. 187r-187v.

25 *Thesaurus sacerdotalis,* ed. Samarino, f. 184v: "Exorcizo te omnis mundissime spiritus, omnis incursio aduersarii, omnis ira, omne phantasma, omnis legio (*in fronte*) in nomine domini nostri Iesu + Christi eradicare, explantare, et effugare ab hoc plasmate Dei: ipse tibi imperat diabole, qui ventis, et mari imperauit, et tempestatibus, ipse tibi imperat qui te de supernis caelorum in inferiora terrae demergi praecepit;" and picking up on f. 185r after a *praecipio* formula: "Audi ergo maledicte Satana: audi, et time victus, et prostratus abscede + in nomine domini nostri Iesu + Christi, tu ergo nequissime Satanas inimicus fidei; aduersarius generis humani; mortis auctor; vitae raptor; iustitiae declinator; malorum radix; fomes vitiorum; seductor hominum; proditor gentium; incitator inuidiae; origo auaritiae; causa discordiae; excitator dolorum; daemonum magister: quid stas, et resistis, cum scias eum tuas perdere vires: illum metue; qui in Isaac immolatus est; in Ioseph venundatus, in Agno occisus; in homine crucifixus; deinde inferni triumphator extitit gloriosus. Recede. *Nunc fit signum in fronte sic*. Da locum Spiritui Sancto: per hoc signun cru+cis domini nostri Iesu + Christi, qui cum eodem Patre in unitate eiusdem Spiritus + sancti vivit, et regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen."

26 *Thesaurus sacerdotalis,* ed. Samarino: for oration B, see f. 185v; oration 2, f. 186r; oration 3, f. 153v; exorcism B, ff. 185v-186r; exorcism C, ff. 186v-187r.

27 Supplement, § 1512, p. 491: "Ipse tibi imperat, qui te retrorsum

ted from exorcism A this allusion to Matthew 16:23 and Mark 8:33, which seems to render Peter as a figure of Satan. It is found neither in Samarino's *Thesaurus* nor the *Rituale Romanum* of 1614.

The *Rituale Romanum* of 1614 represents two noteworthy developments in the tradition of Latin major exorcisms. First, the introductory section of "Normae observandae circa exorcizandos a daemonio" provides instructions, regulations, and practical advice concerning how to conduct the rite. Such instructions are not found in more primitive liturgical books, and those of the *Rituale* are superior to the instructions in Samarino's *Thesaurus*, at least insofar as the former are more streamlined and measured.[28] Second, the *Rituale* places the ancient prayers in an organized structure that incorporates scriptural readings and versicles with their responses. In short, the *Rituale Romanum* of 1614 clearly sets forth all the texts that the exorcist needs for an integral rite, along with concise and practical instructions on how to proceed.

The *Rituale Romanum* was expanded and revised under Benedict XIV in 1752, under Pius XI in 1925, and finally under Pius XII in 1953.[29] Aside from changes in punctuation and capitalization, the differences between the major exorcisms in the Roman Rituals of 1614 and 1953 are few and minor. Several of these occur within the norms and the rubrics,[30] and only two changes to the wording of exorcistic

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redire praecepit."

28   For example, several of the signs of possession identified by Samarino are excised from the norms of 1614. On this development, see André Goddu, "The Failure of Exorcism in the Middle Ages," in *Possession and Exorcism*, ed. Brian P. Levack, Articles on Witchcraft, Magic and Demonology 9 (New York: Garland, 1992) 556.

29   See Joanne M. Pierce, "Ritual, Roman," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., ed. Berard Marthaler et al. eds. (Washington DC: Thomson/Gale, 2003) vol. 12, p. 258; on the history of the ritual as a liturgical book before the Council of Trent, see Gy, "Collectaire, rituel," 454-64.

30   The texts used for comparison here are reprints of typical editions: RR 1953 and *Rituale Romanum editio princeps (1614)*, ed. Manlio Sodi et al., Monumenta Liturgica Concilii Tridentini 5 (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2004) [henceforth RR 1614] §§ 861-920, pp. 206-27 (original pp. 198-219). The norms are not numbered in the 1614 edition and the division of paragraphs differs. Nevertheless, the numbering of the 1953 typical edition is used for convenience. Norm 1, in RR 1614 § 861: "Sacerdos, seu quis alius legitimus Ecclesiae minister, vexatos a daemone exorcizaturus;" cf. RR 1953 § 2867: "Sacerdos, de peculiari et expressa Ordinarii licentia, vexatos a daemone exorcizaturus." Norm 3, in RR 1614 § 863: "nota habeat ea signa, quibus obsessus dignoscitur ab iis, qui vel atra bile, vel morbo aliquo laborant. Signa autem obsidentis daemonis sunt....;" cf. RR 1953 § 2869: "nota habeat ea signa, quibus obsessus dignoscitur ab iis qui morbo

formulae appear to be motivated by reasons other than concern for grammar and spelling conventions: "vires tuas perdere" was changed to "vias tuas perdere" in exorcism A; and "post lavacrum Iordanis" became "post lavacrum Ioannis" in exorcism C.[31] The most substantial change is the addition of the following embolism, absent from the rite of 1614, to oration 3, exorcism B, and exorcism C in RR 1953:

Qui venturus es(t) judicare vivos et mortuos, et saeculum per ignem. (or 3, ex B, ex C)	You (He) who will come to judge the living and the dead, and the world through fire.

In the first instance, this embolism ends an oration addressed to Christ, whereas in the second and third instances, it concludes exorcisms addressed to the impure spirit. The judicious addition of this formula reflects knowledge of the tradition of exorcisms. This and similar formulae appear in many ancient liturgical books as conclusions to exorcisms and certain blessings associated with exorcisms, such as

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aliquo, praesertim ex psychicis, laborant. Signa autem obsidentis daemonis esse possunt...." A few minor word changes also occurred between 1614 and 1953: in norm 2, "nosse studeat" in RR 1614 § 832 became "noscere studeat" in RR 1953 § 2868; in norm 7, "in medio exorcismi" in RR 1614 § 866 became "durante exorcismo" in RR 1953 § 2873; in norm 11, "sed si fuerit aegrotus, vel persona nobilis, vel alia honesta de causa" in RR 1614 § 870 became "sed si sit aegrotus, vel alia honesta de causa" in RR 1953 § 2877; in norm 12, "communiat" in RR 1614 § 871 became "muniat" in RR 1953 § 2878.

31   Cf. "post lavacrum Iordanis," in PRG, § CXVIII.5, vol. 2, p. 214; "tuas perdere uires" in Supplement, § 1512, p. 491.

the blessing of water.[32] It also occurs throughout RR 1953.[33]

The medieval liturgist John Beleth (d. ca. 1165) illustrates the importance this formula had attained by the twelfth century in his *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, where he instructs that all exorcisms conclude with this formula. Beleth notes that the Devil, fearing the judgment of fire, flees upon hearing such a formula.[34] Nearly a millennium earlier, around the year 200, Tertullian similarly highlighted the exorcistic import of the demon's fear of judgment and punishment:

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32 For example, Orationem super hominem christianum qui a demonio vexatur, in Gellone Sacramentary, § 2405, p. 356 and § 2412, p. 358; Ordo ad ecclesia dedicando, in Gellone Sacramentary, §§ 2421 and 2423, p. 362; [exorcismus] super energumenum baptizatum 1, 3, ed. Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, vol. 2, pp. 597, 599; [exorcismus super eos], qui a demonio uexantur, 2, ed. Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, vol. 2, pp. 601; Item alia pro paruulo energumino, in Supplement, § 1511, p. 490; Item aliae orationes super energumino baptizato, in Supplement, § 1514c, p. 494; Impositio manuum super energuminum catezizatum, in PRG, § CXIV.1, vol. 2, p. 191; Ad succurrendum his qui a demonio vexantur, in PRG, §§ CXV.6, 11, 28, 33-34, 37, 42, vol. 2, pp. 194-95, 198, 201, 203, 205; Item orationes et exorcismi super eum qui a demonio vexatur, in PRG, §§ CXVI.1, 3, 4, vol. 2, p. 206-8; Item exorcismus unde supra, in PRG, §§ CXVII.2-3, 4, 8, vol. 2, pp. 209-11; Exorcismus sancti Ambrosii, in PRG, §§ CXVIII.1-3, 6, vol. 2, pp. 211-13, 215; Exorcismus sancti Martini episcopi super eos qui a demonio vexantur, in PRG, § CXIX.1, vol. 2, p. 218; Oratio super liberatum a demonio, in PRG, § CXXIII.3, 7, vol. 2, p. 223; Ordo XXXI.111, in *Les ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, vol. 3, *Les textes (suite) (ordines XIV-XXXIV)*, ed. Michel Andrieu, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense: Etudes et Documents 24 (Louvain: "Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense" Administration, 1974) p. 506. See also Louis Brou, "… et saeculum per ignem," *Sacris erudiri* 8 (1956) 271-76.

33 It is found, for instance, in exorcistic formulae within the following rites included in RR 1953: Ordo baptismi parvulorum, in RR 1953 §§ 95, 106; Ordo baptismi adultorum, in RR 1953 §§ 183, 189, 198, 210, 222, 228, 236; Benedictio fontis seu aquae baptismalis, in RR 1953 § 417; Ordo ad faciendam aquam benedictam, in RR 1953 §§ 1321, 1323; Benedictio olei, in RR 1953 § 1740; Alius ritus seu formula brevior consecrationis altaris, in RR 1953 §§ 2022, 2025; Benedictio deprecatoria, in RR 1953 § 2112; Benedictio numismatum s. Benedicti, in RR 1953 § 2506.

34 John Beleth [Iohannes Beleth], *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* 54 (CCCM 41A:95): "In exorcismis aliter dicitur, uerbi gratia in aqua benedicta, ubi dicitur: *Per eum, qui uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos et seculum per ignem*. Similiter et in cathecizatis, ubi dicitur: *Qui uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos*, quod quam cito diabolus audit esse uenturum *iudicare seculum per ignem*, fugit timens iudicium ignis. Eadem causa uoluit magister Gillebertus dici in obsequiis mortuorum, sed collectarum usus contradicit affirmans debere dici *Per Dominum*;" see also Beleth, *Summa* 54 (CCCM 41A:96).

... haec nostra in illos dominatio et potestas de nominatione Christi ualet et de commemoratione eorum, quae sibi a Deo per arbitrum Christum imminentia exspectant: Christum timentes in Deo et Deum in Christo, subiciuntur seruis Dei et Christi. Ita de contactu deque afflatu nostro, contemplatione et repraesentatione ignis illius correpti etiam de corporibus nostro imperio excedunt inuiti et dolentes et uobis praesentibus erubescentes.[35]

... our domination and power over them are possible from the naming of Christ and from their memory of those threatening things that they are expecting from God through Christ the Judge: fearing Christ in God and God in Christ, they are subjected to the servants of God and of Christ. Thus from our touch and breath, with the contemplation and realization of their punishment of fire, and by our command, they depart from bodies, unwilling and sorrowing and ashamed before you who are present.

The pattern of exorcism set forth by Tertullian includes a direct command, the naming of Christ, and gestures such as touching and breathing upon the possessed. More to the present point, Tertullian highlights the impending, fiery punishment to which Christ relegates the demons, and their fear of Christ precisely as Judge. This invocation of Christ's judgment and the demons' punishment by fire becomes ensconced in the formula "Qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos, et saeculum per ignem." It is one among many ancient exorcistic devices used to intimidate the demon, as will become evident shortly.

In summary, the rite of major exorcism in RR 1953 reflects an organic development of Latin liturgical formulae that can be traced through ancient and influential liturgical books. The underlying principles of these formulae, and some of the very words found in them, may very well date at least to the dawn of Latin Christianity in the late second century.

III. Overview of *Ritus exorcismi maioris* (1999/2004)

The rite of major exorcism was promulgated in *De exorcismis et supplicationibus quibusdam* of 1999 [henceforth Ex 1999], an emended version of which was published in 2004 [henceforth Ex 2004]. The emendations include numerous changes in punctuation, several grammatical corrections, and a few changes of phraseology in both the introductory material and the rubrics of the rite.[36] This study utilizes the text of

35 Tertullian, *Apologeticum* XXIII.15-16 (CCSL 1:132-33).

36 Compare, for example, *De exorcismis et supplicationibus quibusdam*, editio typica (Vatican City: Vatican Press, 1999) [henceforth Ex 1999] 51: "Exorcista hoc legit Evangelium, omnibus stantibus et auscultantibus," with the corrected text of *De exorcismis et supplicationibus quibusdam*, editio typica emendata (Vatican City: Vatican Press, 2004) [henceforth Ex 2004]

Ex 1999, noting the text of Ex 2004 only when an emendation is of particular import. The alterations are so minor that all points made in this essay concerning Ex 1999 can also be said of Ex 2004.

The following outline is an aid to comparing the rite of 1999 with its immediate predecessor in RR 1953, which, as the previous section demonstrates, has a long history. Bold texts indicate formulae unique to exorcisms that incorporate to some extent material found in the major exorcism of RR 1953. Bullet points represent optional elements.

Preparatory prayer for the exorcist (39) [*pro opportunitate*]: *Domine Iesu Christe, Verbum*

• Other orations may be added, from Appendix II
Sign of the cross
Versicles and responses: *Deus Pater omnipotens; Dominus vobiscum*, etc. (40)
Brief words to dispose those present for the celebration (40) [*pro opportunitate*]
Blessing of water [*pro opportunitate*], with the following options:
• *Deus, qui ad salutem humani generis* (41)
• *Domine Deus omnipotens* (42)
• *Supplices te rogamus* (43)
Aspersion of water (44), options:
• *Ecce aqua benedicta*
• *Sit haec aqua suscepti Baptismatis memoria*
Prayer introducing litany (45): *Omnipotentis Dei misericordiam*
Litany (46)
Prayer following the litany, options:
• *Deus, qui proprium est misereri* (47)
• *Deus, qui nos conspicis* (48)
Psalms [*pro opportunitate*]: Ps 90 (*Qui habitat in protectione Altissimi*) is given in text (50); others can be added from 67-75
Prayer: *Susceptor et refugium nostrum*
Gospel reading: Jn 1:1-14 is given in text (52); others can be added from 76-80

51: "Exorcista sequens proclamat Evangelium, omnibus stantibus et audientibus;" in § 34a, "in ipso statui" is corrected to "in ipso statu;" in § 40, "Omnes signant se et dicunt" is changed to "Omnes respondent;" in § 18, "prudentiae causa" is replaced by "prudenter;" in § 12, "Illi insufflationi freta, qua Dei Filius post resurrectionem Spiritum donavit," by "Illi dono Spiritus freta, qua Dei Filius post resurrectionem Spiritum donavit." This last change renders the statement a tautology and eliminates a reference to the Vulgate version of Jn 20:22 by replacing *insufflatio* with *Spiritus*. A more substantial change, necessary for purposes of clarification, occurs in the rubrics of §§ 65 and 66. Only one change is made to the words of the exorcistic formulae themselves: § 62 is altered from "recede ab hoc homine (hac muliere)" in Ex 1999, to "recede ab hoc viro (hac muliere)" in Ex 2004.

Imposition of hands with versicles and responses: *Kyrie eleison*, etc. (53)

Introduction to symbol of faith or creed (54), options:
- *Haec est victoria*
- *Sancti Baptismatis promissiones renovemus*

Symbol of faith or baptismal renunciations, options:
- *Credo in Deum* (Apostles' Creed) (55)
- *Credo in unum Deum* (Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed) (55)
- *Abrenuntiatis Satanae?* (56)
- *Abrenuntiatis peccato?* (56)

Baptismal promises: *Credistis?*

Introduction to Lord's Prayer (57), options:
- *Una simul cum fratre nostro*
- *Quid oremus*

Lord's Prayer

Showing of the cross (58), options:
- **Ecce Crucem** *Domini: fugite, partes adversae*
- *Per signum Crucis de inimico liberet te Deus noster*
- *Crux sancta sit tibi lux et vita*

Exsufflation [*si conveniens esse videatur*] (59)

Formula deprecativa [I] (61): *Deus, humani generis conditor*
- **Formula deprecativa [II]** [*pro opportunitate*] (81): *Deus caeli, Deus terrae*
- **Formula deprecativa [III]** [*pro opportunitate*] (83): *Sanctus es, Domine exercituum*
- **Formula imperativa [I]** [*pro opportunitate*] (62): *Adiuro te, Satan*
- **Formula imperativa [II]** [*pro opportunitate*] (82): *Exorcizo te, vetus hominis inimice*
- **Formula imperativa [III]** [*pro opportunitate*] (84): *Exorcizo te, per Deum vivum*

Thanksgiving, offered by both exorcist and those present (63), options:
- *Magnificat*
- *Benedictus*

Prayer (64): *Deus, universae carnis creator*

Concluding rites – blessings said by the exorcist (65/66),[37] options:
- Series of versicles and responses: *Dominus vobiscum*, etc.
- *Pax Dei, quae exsuperat*

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37   Ritus conclusionis is § 65 in Ex 1999, § 66 in the emended text of Ex 2004. This change in order is apparently owing to the lack of clarity occasioned by the following rubric and its placement after the Ritus conclusionis in Ex 1999 § 66: "Si vero exorcismus iterandus est, exorcista ritum in fine benedictione concludit, sicut supra n. 65." The rubric is altered in Ex 2004 § 65 to: "Si exorcismus est iterandus, non fit statim dimissio; si vero non est iterandus, exorcista ritum benedictione concludit."

The numerous options and elements that can be omitted (labeled *pro opportunitate* or *si conveniens esse videatur*) represent one of the greatest changes to the rite's structure. With the exception of choices for the Gospel pericopes, nothing in the major exorcism of RR 1953 was explicitly optional.

Some additions to the rite result in a text that is easier to use. For example, exorcists using RR 1953 must resort to other parts of the book to find the litany and prayers for blessing water. Ex 1999 presents them in their proper places. Several additions to the more recent rite are not found in its predecessor: the exsufflation (59); the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed (55); baptismal renunciations and baptismal promises (56); introductory words to those present (40, 54); texts addressed to those present rather than to God or the demon (44, 45, 54, 57, 66); a concluding rite conceived as a blessing on all those present (65/66). These last few additions reflect a concern for the edification and sanctification of the congregation or those present for the rite which is absent from RR 1953.

Some elements in the major exorcism of Ex 1999 have been taken from that of RR 1953 but used in a different order and for a different purpose. The *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*, for example, become prayers of thanksgiving after liberation rather than prayers uttered during the ceremony. The Lord's Prayer is moved from the beginning of the rite to its center, just after the symbol of faith or baptismal promises. Phrases that were previously uttered to God in the presence of the demon have been inserted into the exorcist's private prayer of preparation.[38]

Regarding scriptural readings, the number of Gospel passages has increased, with the addition of Matthew 4:1-11 and Mark 1:21b-28. Because only one Gospel pericope is to be read (§ 51), however, these additions do not increase exposure to Scripture when the rite is performed. The rite of 1999 contains one less psalm than its predecessor, as Psalm 117 (*Gratias agite Domino*) has been omitted. Considerable differences in the texts of the psalms are occasioned by the fact that the 1614, 1953, and 1999 rites use three different scriptural translations – respectively, the Vulgate, the Pian Psalter (*Psalterium Pianum*), and the New Vulgate. The psalms were all presented as tracts in the earlier rites, to be read straight through from beginning to end without interruption, and in succession. Now they are responsorial, and each is followed by a newly composed oration.[39] The psalms also are now

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[38]   There is extensive verbal agreement between the priest's private prayer of preparation in Ex 1999 § 39 and oration 3 in RR 1953 § 2908.

[39]   Anthony Ward analyzes these at length in "The Psalm Collects of the New Rite of Exorcisms," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 114 (2000) 270-301.

optional; hence the exorcist need not read any at all.

IV. REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLE FORMULAE

A juxtaposition of sample formulae from the major exorcisms of Ex 1999 and RR 1953 illuminates the extent to which the more recent rite draws from its predecessor and falls within the tradition of Latin major exorcisms. The formulae below are chosen because they are the first to appear within their respective rites, hence they bear a certain liturgical priority. Furthermore, they provide excellent points of comparison for drawing out thematic changes that are evident also

Oratio A (RR 1953)

Deus, et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, invoco nomen sanctum tuum, et clementiam tuam supplex exposco: ut adversus hunc, et omnem immundum spiritum, qui vexat hoc plasma tuum, mihi auxilium praestare digneris. Per eumdem Dominum.	God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I invoke your holy Name, and humbly beg your kindness: that you graciously grant me help against this and every unclean spirit, who vexes this your created image. Through Christ our Lord.[40]

Exorcismus A (RR 1953)

Exorcizo te, immundissime spiritus, omnis incursio adversarii, omne phantasma, omnis legio, in nomine Domini nostri Jesu + Christi eradicare, et effugare ab hoc plasmate Dei.	I exorcize you, most unclean spirit, every incursion of the enemy, every specter, every legion, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; be gone and flee from this created image of God.
+ Ipse tibi imperat, qui te de supernis caelorum in inferiora terrae demergi praecepit. Ipse tibi imperat, qui mari, ventis et tempestatibus imperavit.	He commands you, who ordered that you be plunged from the heights of heaven to the nether regions of the earth. He commands you, who commanded the sea, the winds, and the tempests.
Audi ergo, et time, satana, inimice fidei, hostis generis humani, mortis adductor, vitae raptor, justitiae declinator, malorum radix, fomes vitiorum, seductor hominum, proditor gentium, incitator invidiae, origo avaritiae, causa discordiae, excitator dolorum: quid stas, et resistis, cum scias, Christum Dominum vias tuas perdere?	Hear therefore, and fear, O Satan, enemy of the faith, foe of the human race, procurer of death, robber of life, corrupter of justice, root of evils, inciter of vices, seducer of men, betrayer of nations, instigator of envy, font of avarice, cause of discord, rouser of sorrows: why do you stand and resist, when you know that Christ the Lord destroys your ways?

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40 These translations are my own: they strive for accuracy of meaning rather than literary elegance or felicity of expression.

Illum metue, qui in Isaac immolatus est, in Joseph venumdatus, in agno occisus, in homine crucifixus, deinde inferni triumphator fuit.

Fear him, who in Isaac was offered in sacrifice, in Joseph sold, in the lamb slain, in the man crucified, and then was conqueror of hell.

Recede ergo in nomine Pa + tris, et Fi + lii, et Spiritus + Sancti: da locum Spiritui Sancto, per hoc signum sanctae + Crucis Jesu Christi Domini nostri: Qui cum Patre et eodem Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum.

Withdraw therefore in the Name of the Father +, and of the Son +, and of the Holy + Spirit: give place to the Holy Spirit, by this sign of the holy Cross of Jesus Christ our Lord: Who with the Father and the same Holy Spirit lives and reigns, God, for ever and ever.

Formula deprecativa I (Ex 1999)

Deus, humani generis conditor atque defensor, respice super hunc famulum tuum (hanc famulam tuam) N., quem (quam) ad tuam imaginem formasti et ad tuae vocas gloriae consortium: vetus adversarius eum (eam) dire torquet, acri opprimit vi, saevo terrore conturbat. Mitte super eum (eam) Spiritum Sanctum tuum qui eum (eam) in lucta confirmet, in tribulatione supplicare doceat, et potenti sua protectione muniat.

O God, creator and defender of the human race, look upon this your servant (handmaid) N., whom you formed unto your image and call to the fellowship of your glory: the ancient adversary tortures him (her) dreadfully, oppresses him (her) with severe force, confuses him (her) with savage terror. Send upon him (her) your Holy Spirit to strengthen him (her) in battle, to teach him (her) to supplicate in tribulation, and to fortify him (her) with His powerful protection.

Exaudi, sancte Pater, gemitum supplicantis Ecclesiae: ne siveris filium tuum (filiam tuam) a patre mendacii possideri; famulum, quem (famulam, quam) Christus suo sanguine redemit, diaboli captivitate detineri; templum Spiritus tui ab immundo inhabitari spiritu.

Hear, Holy Father, the sighing of the Church in supplication: do not suffer your son (daughter) to be possessed by the father of falsehood; the servant (handmaid), whom Christ redeems with His blood, to be detained by the captivity of the devil; the temple of your Spirit to be inhabited by an impure spirit.

Exaudi, misericors Deus,
preces beatae Virginis Mariae,
cuius Filius in cruce moriens
caput serpentis antiqui contrivit
et cunctos homines Matri in filios
commisit:
fulgeat in hoc famulo tuo (hac
famula tua) lux veritatis,
ingrediatur in eum (eam) gaudium
pacis,
Spiritus sanctitatis eum (eam)
possideat
et inhabitando serenum (serenam)
reddat et purum (puram).

Hear, O merciful God,
the prayers of the Blessed Virgin
Mary,
whose Son dying on the cross
crushed the head of the ancient
serpent
and entrusted all men to Mary as
sons:
let the light of truth gleam upon
this your servant (handmaid),
may the joy of peace enter into him
(her),
may the Spirit of holiness possess
him (her),
and by indwelling render him (her)
serene and pure.

Exaudi, Domine,
deprecationem beati Michaelis
Archangeli
et cunctorum Angelorum tibi minis-
trantium:
Deus virtutum,
vim diaboli repelle;
Deus veritatis et veniae,
amove eius fallaces insidias;
Deus libertatis et gratiae,
nequitiae vincula solve.

Hear, O Lord,
the prayer of Blessed Michael the
Archangel
and of all the angels ministering to
you:
God of [angelic] powers,
repel the force of the devil;
God of truth and pardon,
remove his deceitful snares;
God of liberty and grace,
dissolve the bonds of wickedness.

Exaudi, Deus, humanae salutis
amator,
orationem apostolorum tuorum
Petri et Pauli
et omnium Sanctorum,
qui tua gratia victores exstiterunt
Maligni:
libera hunc famulum tuum (hanc
famulam tuam)
ab omni aliena potestate
et incolumen [sic] custodi
ut tranquillae devotioni restitutus
(restituta),
te corde diligat et operibus deser-
viat,
te glorificet laudibus et magnificet
vita.
Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Hear, O God, lover of human salva-
tion,
the prayer of your Apostles Peter
and Paul
and of all the Saints,
who by your grace were victors over
the Malign One:
free this your servant (handmaid)
from every alien power
and keep him (her) unharmed
so that, restored to tranquil devo-
tion,
he (she) may love you with the
heart and serve you with works,
may glorify you with praises and
magnify you by his (her) life.
Through Christ our Lord.

Formula imperativa I (Ex 1999)

Adiuro te,
Satan, hostis humanae salutis,
agnosce iustitiam et bonitatem Dei
Patris,
qui superbiam et invidiam tuam
iusto iudicio damnavit:
discede ab hoc famulo (hac famula)
Dei N.,
quem (quam) Dominus ad imagi-
nem suam fecit,
suis ornavit muneribus
atque in filium (filiam) misericor-
diae adoptavit.

Adiuro te,
Satan, princeps huius mundi,
agnosce potentiam et virtutem Iesu
Christi,
qui te in deserto vicit,
in horto superavit,
spoliavit in cruce,
et de sepulcro resurgens
tua tropaea in regnum transtulit
lucis:
recede ab hac creatura N.,
quem (quam) nascendo fecit sibi
fratrem (sororem)
et moriendo sibi acquisivit sanguine
suo.

Adiuro te,
Satan, deceptor humani generis,
agnosce Spiritum veritatis et gra-
tiae,
qui tuas repellit insidias
tuaque confundit mendacia:
exi ab hoc plasmate Dei N.,
quem (quam) ipse signavit superno
sigillo;
recede ab hoc homine (hac muli-
ere),
quem (quam) Deus spiritali unc-
tione,
templum sacrum effecit.

I adjure you,
Satan, enemy of human salvation,
recognize the justice and goodness
of God the Father,
who has condemned your pride and
envy
with just judgment:
depart from this servant (hand-
maid) of God N.,
whom the Lord made unto His
image,
adorned with His gifts
and adopted as a son (daughter) of
mercy.

I adjure you,
Satan, prince of this world,
acknowledge the power and
strength of Jesus Christ,
Who vanquished you in the desert,
overcame you in the garden,
despoiled you on the cross,
and rising from the tomb
transferred your trophies into the
kingdom of light:
withdraw from this creature N.,
whom He made a brother (sister)
unto Himself by being born
and by dying acquired for Himself
with His own blood.

I adjure you,
Satan, deceiver of the human race,
acknowledge the Spirit of truth and
of grace,
Who repels your snares
and confounds your lies:
go out of this created image of God
N.,
whom He Himself signed with the
heavenly seal;
withdraw from this man (woman),
whom God, with spiritual anoint-
ing,
made a sacred temple.

Recede ergo, Satan,	Withdraw, therefore, O Satan,
in nomine Patris +, et Filii +, et	in the Name of the Father +, and of
Spiritus + Sancti;	the Son +, and of the Holy+Spirit;
recede per fidem	withdraw by the faith
et orationem Ecclesiae;	and prayer of the Church;
recede per signum sanctae Crucis	withdraw by the sign of the holy
Iesu Christi Domini nostri,	Cross
qui vivit et regnat in saecula saecu-	of Our Lord Jesus Christ,
lorum.	Who lives and reigns for ever and
	ever.

The first observation regards the relation of these formulae to the history of Latin liturgical books. As demonstrated above, significant passages of oration A and exorcism A, sometimes in its entirety, are evident in the eighth-century Gellone Sacramentary, in Benedict of Aniane's ninth-century Supplement to the Gregorian Sacramentary, and in the Romano-Germanic Pontifical of the tenth century, along with the Roman Rituals of 1614 and 1953. By contrast, there are no obvious precedents in earlier liturgical books for imprecatory formula I and deprecatory or supplicating[41]

The titles of these liturgical formulae are themselves a striking change: what in RR 1953 is labeled an *oratio* or "oration" is in Ex 1999 a *formula deprecativa* or "deprecatory formula," while *exorcismus* or "exorcism" becomes *formula imperativa,* that is, "imperative" or "imprecatory formula." The first deprecatory formula, moreover, is the only one of these formulae that must be read when the rite of 1999 is conducted. All imperative or imprecatory formulae in Ex 1999 are provided for use *pro opportunitate* rather than mandated for compulsory use. On the other hand, at least one deprecatory formula must be uttered. Because the imprecatory formulae are entirely optional, a shift is evident from "imprecatory" to "deprecatory" or "supplicating" exorcistic formulae. With one exception, these imperative formulae contain all the passages in which the demon is addressed directly. The exception is the following line:

Ecce Crucem Domini, fugite,	Behold the Cross of the Lord:
partes adversae.[42]	Flee, O hostile forces.

41   Manfred Hauke effectively critiques the notion of a "supplicating" exorcism in the previous essay, "The Theological Battle over the Rite of Exorcism, 'Cinderella' of the New *Rituale Romanum*," *Antiphon* 10.1 (2006) 39, 58-59, 61-63.

42   In RR 1953 § 2910, this line accompanies the sign of the cross and constitutes a versicle to which the response is "Vicit leo de tribu Juda, radix David," or "The lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, has conquered."

In Ex 1999, this command may be replaced by either of the following:

Per signum Crucis de inimico liberet te Deus noster.	May our God liberate you from the enemy by the sign of the Cross.
Crux sancta sit tibi lux et vita.	May the holy Cross be light and life to you.[43]

A radical difference obtains among these options. In the first, the demon is addressed, whereas in the other two, the words are addressed to the vexed faithful Christian. As a result, a priest may conduct the entire major exorcism of Ex 1999, in complete obedience to its rubrics, without once directly addressing the demon. This is a radical break from the rite of RR 1953, wherein not one of the many lines addressed to the demon was optional.

The functions of the formulae have shifted along with their titles. With oration A of RR 1953, the exorcist beseeches help for himself as he approaches the demon. By contrast, deprecatory or supplicating formula I of Ex 1999 presents a series of distinct petitions: that God send the Holy Spirit upon the possessed, protect and restore the possessed, and hear the supplication of the Church and the saints for the possessed. Although the priest-exorcist's role and burden are not evident in the revised text, the action of the Church is nevertheless explicit.

Indeed, an ecclesiastical emphasis recurs throughout Ex 1999, beginning with the very first chapters of the *praenotanda*, which are titled "On Christ's Victory and the Church's Power against Demons" and "On Exorcisms in the Sanctifying Office of the Church."[44] The role of the exorcist as priestly minister generally tends to be obscured by this new emphasis.[45] This ecclesiological emphasis is evident in a number of places: for example, deprecatory formula I beseeches God to hear the sighing of the Church,[46] and then mentions the prayers of the Blessed Virgin, Michael the Archangel, Peter, and Paul. The shift from ordained priest as exorcist to Church as exorcist is evident also in the replace-

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43   Ex 1999 § 58.

44   Praenotanda, in Ex 1999 §§ 1-7 and 8-12, respectively titled "De Christi victoria et ecclesiae potestate contra daemones" and "De exorcismis in munere sanctificandi ecclesiae."

45   For example, a rubric in Ex 1999 § 39 states that the priest may dispose himself for the rite with additional prayers from Appendix II. That appendix bears the title "Supplicationes quae privatim adhiberi possunt a fidelibus in colluctatione contra potestates tenebrarum." The prayers therein may be privately used by any of the faithful; that is, Appendix II does not specifically pertain to the sacerdotal ministry of the ordained, but rather to the baptismal priesthood of the faithful.

46   Ex 1999 § 61: "Exaudi, sancte Pater, gemitum supplicantis Ecclesiae."

ment of the first person singular for the first person plural. First person plural verbs are common in Ex 1999,[47] whereas they appear only in the Prayer after Liberation of RR 1953.[48] A striking example of this change is found in a brief passage from oration C that reappears in deprecatory formula II. The textual coincidences are marked by italics:

RR 1953 (or C)	Ex 1999 (dep II)
humiliter majestati gloriae tuae supplico,	*humiliter maiestat*em *gloriae tuae supplic*amus,
ut hunc famulum tuum (hanc famulam tuam)	*ut hunc famulum tuum (hanc famulam tuam)*
de immundis spiritibus liberare digneris.[49]	ab omni infernalium spirituum potestate,
	laqueis, deceptione, et nequitia liberare et incolumem custodire digneris....[50]

The first person singular *supplico*, which attributes the action of prayer to the ministerial priest interceding before the divine majesty on behalf of the possessed, has been replaced with the first person plural *supplicamus*, which attributes the action to the Church's members, or at least those gathered for the exorcism.[51] In RR 1953, the "I" of the

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47   For instance, Ex 1999 § 42: "appropinquare possimus" (changed to "appropinquemus" in Ex 2004); Ex 1999 § 42: "Supplices te rogamus;" Ex 1999 § 54: "promissiones renovemus ... abrenuntiavimus ... promisimus;" Ex 1999 § 57: "deprecemur ... nescimus."

48   Oratio post liberationem, in RR 1953 § 2937: "Oramus te, Deus omnipotens, ut spiritus iniquitatis amplius non habeat potestatem in hoc famulo tuo N. (hac famula tua N.), sed ut fugiat, et non revertatur: ingrediatur in eum (eam), Domine, te jubente, bonitas et pax Domini nostri Jesu Christi, per quem redempti sumus, et ab omni malo non timeamus, quia Dominus nobiscum est: Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum." Parts of this prayer have been copied into the second half of Gratiarum actio, in Ex 1999 § 64: "praesta, Domine, ut spiritus iniquitatis amplius in eum (eam) non habeat potestatem; ingrediantur in eum (eam), te iubente, bonitas et pax Spiritus Sancti, ita ut a Malo non timeat, quia Dominus Iesus Christus nobiscum est. Qui tecum vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum."

49   RR 1953 § 2921.

50   Ex 1999 § 81.

51   Similarly, "deprecamur" appears in deprecatory formula III, in Ex 1999 § 83, along with the following passage: "miserere, quaesumus, supplicantis Ecclesiae pro famulo tuo (famula tua) N. tribulanti."

ministerial priest invokes the name of Jesus; in Ex 1999, the "we" of the Church or congregation make the invocation.[52] Moreover, the first person singular pronoun, which occurs frequently in the major exorcism of RR 1953,[53] is entirely absent from the formulae of Ex 1999, which place more emphasis than ever on the first person plural pronoun.[54] The *praenotanda* hint that this new ecclesiological emphasis is rooted in a firm assumption that exorcism is a sacramental like any other, which receives its efficacy through the prayer of the Church.[55] As Manfred Hauke points out in the preceding essay, there are serious theological grounds for questioning this assumption.[56]

Another new emphasis in Ex 1999 is on the anamnesis or recollection of baptism and salvation history. It becomes possible on the strength of a frequently expressed assumption, which is not shared by RR 1953, that the possessed is a baptized Christian.[57] Hence, in the

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52   See also imprecatory formula III, in Ex 1999 § 84: "contremisce et effuge invocato a nobis sancto nomine Iesu."

53   It is found in RR 1953 § 2900: "dicas mihi nomen tuum, diem et horam exitus tui, cum aliquo signo: et ut mihi Dei ministro licet indigno, prorsus in omnibus obedias;" in oration 3, in RR 1953 § 2908: "tuum sanctum nomen cum timore et tremore suppliciter deprecor, ut indignissimo mihi servo tuo, data venia omnium delictorum meorum, constantem fidem, et potestatem donare digneris, ut hunc crudelem daemonem, bracchii tui sancti munitus potentia, fideliter et securus aggrediar;" in oration A, in RR 1953 § 2913: "mihi auxilium praestare digneris." Finally, it is found several times in exorcism B, in RR 1953 § 2918: "Adjuro te iterum + (in fronte), non mea infirmitate, sed virtute Spiritus Sancti.... Et ne contemnendum putes, dum me peccatorem nimis esse cognoscis.... Cede igitur, cede non mihi, sed ministro Christi." This last command particularly highlights the role of the priest as minister of Christ.

54   Ex 1999 has *nostram* in §§ 47, 57; *nostra* in §§ 48, 54, 83; *nos* in § 48; *nostrum* in § 50; *nostro* in § 57; *nobis* in §§ 57, 64; *noster* in § 58; and *nostri* in § 84. This list does not include first person plural pronouns in antiphonal responsories and instances of "Per Christum Dominum nostrum," which are found in both RR 1953 and Ex 1999.

55   Evident, for example, in Ex 1999 § 12: "Ecclesia in exorcismis agit;" and Ex 1999 § 10: "Ecclesia Christum Dominum et Salvatorem implorat et ... praebet ut a vexatione seu obsessione liberetur."

56   Hauke, "Theological Battle over Exorcism," 60, 62-63.

57   Ex 1999 § 32: "Fidelis vexatus debet, praesertim ante exorcismum, si ipsi possibile sit, Deum orare, mortificationem exercere, fidem accepti Baptismatis frequenter renovare, et saepius ad reconciliationis sacramentum accedere necnon sacra Eucharistia se munire." This passage reflects norm 12, in RR 1953 § 2878, wherein the possessed was to be advised, if mentally and physically fit, to pray, fast, and fortify himself with sacred confession and holy Communion. Norm 9, in RR 1953 § 2875, warned that the devil may sometimes allow the possessed to receive the Eucharist. Nonetheless, the

first imperative formula cited above, the possessed is said to have been "adopted as a son (daughter) of mercy" and "signed with the heavenly seal," while the rubrics and the *praenotanda* refer to the "vexed" or obsessed "faithful."[58] On the canonical level, the possession of non-Catholics represents a particular problem that must be deferred to the diocesan bishop.[59] The baptismal anamnesis is above all evident in the repetition of baptismal promises added to the rite.[60]

In an article published in 1987, Achille M. Triacca highlights the importance of anamnesis, understood as a memorial of salvation history, in the euchology of exorcisms.[61] He argues that "the most genuine" liturgical and ecclesiastical view of exorcism is characterized by "the optimistic view" that encompasses all of salvation history and the orientation of all creation towards redemption.[62] He concludes that, in its true and proper form, exorcism is nothing other than an epiclesis (that is, a calling down) of the Holy Spirit.[63] Triacca's

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Christian identity of the possessed represents only a possibility in the major exorcism of RR 1953, whereas Ex 1999 clearly considers it normative.

58   See, for instance, Ex 1999 § 10: "fideli vexato seu obsesso;" § 32: "Fidelis vexatus;" § 35: "ut fidelis a vexatione liberatus;" § 40: "fidelem a diabolo vexatum;" § 44: "fidelem vexatum;" and § 53: "fidelis vexati."

59   Ex 1999 § 18: "In casibus afficientibus non catholico et in ceteris difficilioribus res ad Episcopum diocesanum deferatur...."

60   Ex 1999 § 56: this includes the renunciations and the interrogative baptismal confession of faith, which is provided as an option to reciting either the Apostles' Creed or the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed (§ 55). Note, however, that RR 1953 offers only the Athanasian Creed (*Quicumque*).

61   Achille M. Triacca, "Esorcismo: un sacramentale discusso. Alcune piste di riflessione in vista di ulteriori ricerche," *Ecclesia orans* 4 (1987) 285-300, here 297: "inoltre l'esorcismo non sarebbe disgiunto dal prendere coscienza che i *mirabilia Dei*, compiuti una volta a bene del singolo fedele, si ricompiono a nuovo titolo con lo stesso esorcismo (e con quanto vi è connesso). In questa luce si comprenderebbe la necessità di una analisi delle tematiche anamnetiche (=del memoriale della storia della salvezza) presenti nell'eucologia per gli esorcismi." This influential article also appeared in French as "Exorcisme: un sacramental en question: quelques pistes de réflexion pour des recherches *Exorcizo te* ou *Benedico te*?" in *Les benedictions et les sacramentaux dans la liturgie, Conferences Saint-Serge, XXXIVe Semaine d'Etudes Liturgiques, Paris 1987*, ed. Achille M. Triacca and Alessandro Pistoia, Bibliotheca "Ephemerides liturgicae" Subsidia 44 (Rome: C.L.V.-Edizioni Liturgiche, 1988) 269-84.

62   Triacca, "Esorcismo," 296: "In ultima analisi qui si tratta di far emergere la *visuale ottimistica* presente nell'esorcismo praticato nel più genuino spirito liturgico-ecclesiale."

63   Triacca, "Esorcismo," 299-300: "E' certo che là dove è presente ed agisce il Sacro Pneuma, non può più nulla il Satana. Dunque non *exorcizo te* è la tonalità vera e propria al sacramentale in questione, quanto piuttosto *invoco te, Spiritus Sancte*, o ancora più explicitamente: *Emitte quaesumus Spiritum*

criteria for authenticity are somewhat obscure, as is the logic of his argument. Nonetheless, in an article published in 2000, Triacca draws extensively from his own article of 1987 in order to explain the revised rite of exorcism.[64] His original "paths for reflection in light of future research" thereby become descriptions of Ex 1999. The epicletic theme, manifest as explicit requests that God send the Holy Spirit upon the possessed, indeed recurs throughout the rite.[65] The *praenotanda* combine the ecclesiastical and epicletic emphases by describing the action of major exorcisms in terms of the Church, joined to the Holy Spirit, asking the Holy Spirit to help our infirmity and prevent demons from harming the faithful.[66] So it is clear that Triacca's reasoning was influential. Anamnesis or remembrance of salvation history, especially of one's own baptismal entrance into the economy of salvation, is prevalent in the revised formulae, and none of them fails to mention the Holy Spirit with explicit epicleses. Moreover, Triacca's emphasis on the epicletic element of deprecatory or supplicating formulae may explain why they are favored over the optional imprecatory formulae in the rubrics of Ex 1999.[67]

Triacca dismisses the apotropaic (that is, elements aimed at counteracting evil influence) in exorcisms. This dismissal merits further scrutiny in light of the larger project of revising the entire *Rituale Romanum* in accordance with the mandate of the Second Vatican Council. The work of revising the texts of the sacramentals in the ritual was entrusted to Study Group or *Coetus* 23, chaired by Pierre-Marie Gy, O.P., of the Consilium for Implementing the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (*Consilium ad exsequendam constitutionem de sacra liturgia*).[68] One of the working principles articulated by Study Group

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Sanctum tuum Paraclitum super ... in modo che con Cristo e come Cristo ogni fedele ed ogni Chiesa locale possa esultare della presenza dello Spirito." From the perspective of trinitarian theology, Triacca appears to emphasize the mission of the Holy Spirit at the expense of the mission of the Son.

64   Achille M. Triacca, "Spirito Santo ed esorcismo: in margine al recente Rituale," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 114 (2000) 241-69. On pp. 242-43, 253-56, and 265-68 of this later article, Triacca simply copies entire sections of his own previous article, "Esorcismo," 290-97.

65   Alessandro Pistoia, "Riti e preghiere di esorcismo: problemi di traduzione," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 114 (2000) 233: "Osserviamo ora l'oggetto dell'invocazione: – il ruolo di protagonista è riservato allo Spirito Santo: si invoca il Padre perche invii il suo Santo Spirito...."

66   Ex 1999 § 12: "Sancto Spiritui iugata Ecclesia supplicat ut ipse adiuvet infirmitatem nostram (cf. *Rom* 8, 26) ad compellendos daemones ne fidelibus noceant."

67   See Triacca, "Spirito Santo ed esorcismo," 259, 263.

68   Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy 1948-1975*, trans. Matthew

23 insists that "superstitious elements" be eliminated from the blessings – particularly apotropaic formulae.[69]

Study Group 22 of the consilium revised the rites of initiation in the *Rituale Romanum*.[70] According to Annibale Bugnini, secretary of the consilium, Study Groups 22 and 23 worked closely together.[71] So ideas expressed by the chair of Study Group 22, Balthasar Fischer, likely exerted influence on Study Group 23, which began the work of revising the major exorcism. "We no longer speak to the Devil (considered as being present)," Fisher wrote of the revised baptismal renunciations: "we speak with God about the Devil (still seriously considered as personal)."[72] Fischer was responding to unspecified critics who had argued that baptismal exorcisms were abolished by the 1969 rites of initiation.[73] The only theological defenses of "deprecatory" exorcisms which Fischer mustered are the 1958 study on powers and principalities in the New Testament by the German biblical scholar Heinrich Schlier[74] and a "developed theology of original sin." Fischer

J. O'Connell (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 1990) note 1, p. 570: "Group 23 on the sacramentals: *relator*: P.-M. Gy; *secretary*: S. Mazzarello; *members*: J. Mejia, J. Rabau, J. Hofinger, F. Vandenbroucke, and D. Sicard. Subsequently added were A. Chavasse, B. Löwenberg, and K. Ritzer."

69   "Labores coetuum a studiis: de benedictionibus," *Notitiae* 6 (1970) 246: "in benedictionibus admitti potest elementum invocationis contra potestates diabolicas: attamen invigilandum est ne benedictiones fiant quasi 'amuleta' seu 'talismana.'" See also "Labores coetuum a studiis: de benedictionibus," *Notitiae* 7 (1971) 129 and Enrico Mazza, "I *Praenotanda generalia* del rituale romano: *De benedictionibus*," *Rivista liturgica* 73 (1986) 249-50.

70   Consilium ad exsequendam constitutionem de sacra liturgia, *Elenchus membrorum – consultorum consiliariorum coetuum a studiis*, 2nd ed. (Vatican City: Vatican Polyglot Press, 1967) 53.

71   Bugnini, *Reform of the Liturgy*, note 1, p. 570: "Although the two groups [22 and 23] were distinct, they always worked together."

72   Balthasar Fischer, "Baptismal Exorcism in the Catholic Baptismal Rites after Vatican II," *Studia liturgica* 10 (1974) 53.

73   For a parallel example, see Maurice Huftier, "Rite du baptême et exorcismes," *Esprit et vie: l'ami du clergé* 85 (1975) 393-95. This article attempts to answer the following question: "Dans le nouveau rite baptismal comme dans celui de l'aspersion dominicale, il n'y a plus d''exorcismes.' Une longue tradition est rompue. Comment expliquer ce changement?" Huftier's argument that the long tradition has not been broken is as unconvincing as Fischer's.

74   Fischer, "Baptismal Exorcism," 55; Heinrich Schlier, *Mächte und Gewalten im Neuen Testament* (Freiburg/Bresgau: Herder, 1958), translated as *Principalities and Powers in the New Testament* (New York: Herder, 1961). The rejection of "imprecatory" exorcisms may be linked to the outright denial of the Christian understanding of demons, the Devil, and original sin clearly in evidence by the close of the early Christian period. For a self-consciously historical-theological example, see the severe criticism

did not cite any theologians who hold this "developed theology."

The authors of the study *Foi chrétienne et démonologie* (*Christian Faith and Demonology*), published by the Holy See in 1975, reflect Fischer's views by similarly protesting that the shift from imprecatory to deprecatory or supplicating formulae does not entail the disappearance of exorcisms from the revised rites of initiation.[75] Neither the authors of this study nor Fischer argue convincingly that imprecatory formulae (e.g., "begone out of him, impure spirit") are equivalent to deprecatory formulae (e.g., "deliver us from the Evil One"), and Triacca's theological exposition of exorcism is tendentious.[76] Whatever their reasons, the scholars of the consilium that revised the Roman Ritual demonstrate a decided prejudice against dramatically apotropaic formulae in general and against imprecatory formulae addressing the demon in particular.[77]

"In a word," Triacca concludes his redefinition of the rite, "the true exorcism is more a pneumatological than an apotropaic formula.

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of Augustine's "diabology" set forth in Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981) 197-218, here 218: "If Augustine," Russell concludes, "being incoherent on a given point, fixed the tradition on that point, how valid can the tradition be?"

75   "Foi chrétienne et démonologie," in *Enchiridion Vaticanum*, vol. 5, *Documenti ufficiali della Santa Sede 1974-1976*, ed. Erminio Lora (Bologna: Dehoniane, 1979) 870: "Il est vrai que le rituel de l'initiation chrétienne des adultes a connu ici des modifications. Il n'interpelle plus le diable par des apostrophes impératives; mais, dans le même but, il s'adresse à Dieu sous forme des prières. Le ton est moins spectaculaire, mais aussi expressif et efficace. Il est donc faux de prétendre que les exorcismes ont été éliminés du nouveau rituel du baptême…. Les exorcismes subsistent donc. Aujourd'hui comme hier ils demandent la victoire sur Satan, le diable, le prince de ce monde et le pouvoir des ténèbres." See note 114 on p. 870: "Le passage à la forme déprécative n'a été opéré qu'après des expériments suivis eux-mêmes de réflexions et de discussions au sein du Consilium." One can only imagine of what these experiments consisted.

76   For another critique of Triacca's redefinition of exorcism, see Hauke, "Theological Battle over Exorcism," 56, 63-64.

77   See also Agnese Cini Tassinario, *Il diavolo secondo l'insegnamento recente della Chiesa* (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1984) 237: noting that many references to the Devil have been suppressed in post-conciliar liturgical books, Tassinario attributes the change "ad un'impellente necessità di rinnovare l'antico linguaggio drammatico ed emotivo, per adattarlo ad una nuova pastorale più attenta alla sensibilità moderna, imbarazzata, e meno interessata a questo argomento." Such an argument may hold with regard to liturgies aimed in part at forming the faithful, such as the Mass, although it entails a considerable shift in Christian piety that is not necessarily for the better. Nevertheless, if the rite's primary purpose is to liberate one suffering from demonic possession, fear of avoiding offense to modern sensibilities ought to exert rather limited influence, if any, over the rite's revision.

It is the presence of the Holy Spirit that excludes the presence of any other spirit that is not holy or sanctifying."[78] This statement raises a logical problem in light of the fact that the current rite is intended for a vexed or possessed Christian: is the Holy Spirit absent from the vexed Christian who supposedly received Him at baptism? Triacca seems to assume rather that the evil spirit is absent from the vexed Christian, and traces of this assumption are evident throughout Ex 1999. First and foremost, it is evident in the fact that one can celebrate the major exorcism without directly addressing the demon. Among many more subtle examples of this assumption is the notion of man as the temple of God. Exorcism C in RR 1953 commands the demon to depart "because God willed man to be his temple."[79] Deprecatory formula I of Ex 1999, by contrast, asks the Father not to allow "the temple of your Spirit to be inhabited by the impure spirit."[80] Imprecatory formula I similarly assumes that God has already "made a sacred temple" of the (vexed) image of God "with spiritual anointing." In short, RR 1953 does not presume that the possessed is already a temple of the Holy Spirit, whereas Ex 1999 does.

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78   Triacca, "Spirito Santo ed esorcismo," 260: "In una parola il vero esorcismo è più formula pneumatologica che apotropaica. È la presenza dello Spirito Santo che esclude la presenza di ogni altro spirito che santo e santificatore non è."

79   A parallel that hints at the complicated relationship between exorcistic formulae used at baptism and those used in major exorcism is found in the unique baptismal order of the Bobbio Missal. There an explicit goal of the exorcisms of both the catechumen and the baptismal water is to make the catechumen a temple of God. *The Bobbio Missal: A Gallican Mass-Book (Ms. Paris. Lat. 13246)*, ed. E. A. Lowe, Henry Bradshaw Society 58 & 61 (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1991) § 240, pp. 73-74: "Exorcidio te spiritus inmunde per deum patrem omnipotentem qui fecit celum et terra mare et omnia que in eis sunt ut omnes uirtus aduersarii omnes exercitus diaboli omnes incursus omni fantasma eradicitur hac / fugetur ab hoc plasmate ut fiat templum dei sanctum in nomine dei patris omnipotentis et iesu christi fili eius qui iudicaturus es [for *est*] s*aecu*lum per ignem in spiritu sancto in s*aecu*la s*aecu*lorum;" § 234, p. 72: "Exorcidio te creatura aquae in nomine dei patris omnipotentis et in nomine domini nostri iesu christi fili eius et spiritus sancti ut omnes uirtus aduersariae omnes exercitus diaboli omnes incursus omne fantasma eradicare et effugare ab hac creatura aquae ut sit omnibus qui in ea discensuri sunt fons aquae salutaris in uitam aeternam ut cum baptizatus in ea quisquis fuerit fiat templum dei uiui in remissione peccatorum / in nomine dei patris omnipotentis et christi iesu filii eius et spiritus sancti qui iudicaturus es [for *est*] s*aecu*lum per ignem per hoc signacolum quod permanit in s*aecu*la s*aecu*lorum."

80   Ex 1999 § 61: "ne siveris filium tuum (filiam tuam) ... templum Spiritus tui ab immundo inhabitari spiritu."

There is an exception, however, in deprecatory formula III of Ex 1999, which commands the demon, "give place to the Holy Spirit" (*da locum Spiritui Sancto*). Exorcism A of RR 1953 also contains this command. There it stands in a broader context that assumes the personal presence of an unclean occupant in the possessed, an occupant who must be cast out before the Holy Spirit takes up residence therein. Moreover, imprecatory formula III constitutes numerous exceptions to the general underlying principles of Ex 1999 because it is a cut-and-paste or patchwork of passages taken from exorcisms A, B, and C of RR 1953. As such, this final imprecatory formula contains the bulk of the linguistic heritage of Latin major exorcisms that has been preserved in the revised rite. All the other exorcistic formulae of Ex 1999 (imprecatory formulae I and II, and deprecatory formulae I, II, and III) are new compositions that bear little resemblance to any developed prayers or adjurations found in previous rites of major exorcism.

V. Comparative Literary Analyses

The exercise of juxtaposing representative sample formulae from the major exorcisms of RR 1953 and Ex 1999 has highlighted several thematic theological differences between the two. This final section further explores the theological tendencies of the major exorcism of Ex 1999 by means of literary comparisons with the major exorcism of RR 1953. The rites' respective means of addressing the demon will receive first and most extensive treatment. Other literary phenomena to be compared include biblical figures of the demon and titles of the demon. These comparative analyses will draw out several subtle but theologically significant differences between the two rites.

The manner in which the demon is directly addressed is one of the most striking features of ancient exorcistic formulae. As the following table demonstrates, the verbs *adiuro* and *exorcizo* are found in the first person singular in both rites, whereas the verb *praecipio* is found only in RR 1953.

RR 1953	Ex 1999

Praecipio tibi
    ut dicas
    ut obedias
    neque offendas	

Exorcizo te [ex A]
    eradicare
    et effugare
	Exorcizo te [imp II and III]

Adjuro te
    ut discedas [2x in ex B]
    ut exeas [ex B]
	Adiuro te
	  agnosce iustitiam Patris [imp I]
	  agnosce potentiam Christi [imp I]

ut desinas impugnare [ex C]	agnosce Spiritum [imp I]
	eradicare [imp III]
	effugare [imp III]

Praecipio, then, does not occur in Ex 1999. Nor do the indirect commands expressed with that verb: that the demon reveal its name and the time of its arrival or departure, that it obey the exorcist, and that it not harm those present. This is a noteworthy omission, since the norms of RR 1953 stress the necessity of discovering the name and number of the demons. Those norms also instruct that it is necessary to learn when, why, and how the demon entered the possessed[81] – information that appears to have played a role in exorcisms even during the patristic period.[82]

The phrase *exorcizo te* occurs once in RR 1953 and twice in Ex 1999, although its use changes slightly. In the earlier rite, the verb is followed by the passive imperatives *eradicare* (from *eradico*) and *effugare* (from *effugo*). Thus the priest exorcizes (*exorcizo te*) the demon: be rooted out (*eradicare*) and be put to flight (*et effugare*). In Ex 1999, *exorcizo te* is not followed by indirect commands. These two passive imperatives are retained but transferred to association with the verb *adiuro*, which consistently is followed by imperatives in Ex 1999. On the other hand, substantive clauses of purpose (with *ut* or *ne* and subjunctive verbs) consistently appear as the object of the first person verb *adjuro* in RR 1953, which thereby follows the grammatical use of *adjuro* in the Vulgate.[83] The reasons for introducing these grammatical

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81   Norm 15, in RR 1953 § 2881, quoted in note 5 above; cf. Lk 8:30. In an interview by Paul Badde, "Hell is the Condition of Eternal Not-loving," *Inside the Vatican* 14.1 (Jan 2006) 31, Pedro Barrajón, L.C., who teaches a course on demonic possession at the Pontificium Athenaeum Regina Apostolorum, states that each exorcism includes "a dialogue … between the exorcist and the possessed person, where the exorcist asks for the demon's name. This is always a difficult moment. Evil never wants to present itself. It often lies." This is a curious statement in light of the fact that Ex 1999 does not contain such a dialogue.

82   Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XXII.8, in *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, vol. 2, *Lib. XIV-XXII*, ed. Bernard Dombart and Alfonsus Kalb, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1993) 573: the demon "cum grandi eiulatu parci sibi rogans confitebatur, ubi adulescentem et quando et quo modo invaserit."

83   Mt 26:63: "adiuro te per Deum vivum ut dicas nobis si tu es Christus Filius Dei;" Mk 5:7: "adiuro te per Deum ne me torqueas;" 1 Thes 5:27: "adiuro vos per Dominum ut legatur epistula omnibus sanctis fratribus;" Gn 24:3: "… ut adiurem te per Dominum Deum caeli et terrae ut non accipias uxorem filio meo de filiabus Chananeorum inter quos habito;" 2 Chr [2 Par] 18:15: "adiuro ut non mihi loquaris nisi quod verum est in nomine

changes in the rite of major exorcism remain unclear.

Major exorcisms also issue commands to the demon by means of imperative verbs.

RR 1953	Ex 1999
	agnosce [3x in imp I]
audi [ex A]	
cede	
ministro Christi [ex B]	
Deo qui [3x in ex B]	
contremisce [2x in ex B]	contremisce [imp III]
da honorem	
Deo Patri [ex C]	
da locum	da locum
Spiritui Sancto	Spiritui Sancto
[ex A and C]	[imp II and III]
Christo [3x in ex B]	Christo [imp III]
Domino Jesu Christo [ex C]	
discede [2x in ex C]	discede [imp I and II]
effuge [ex B]	effuge [imp III]
effugare [ex A]	effugare [imp II]
eradicare [ex A]	
exi [2x in ex B; 3x in ex C]	exi [imp I]
fugite [Ecce]	fugite [Ecce]
humiliare [ex C]	humiliare [imp III]
metue [ex A]	metue [imp III]
	obmutesce [imp II]
time [ex A]	
prosternere [ex C]	
recede [ex A and ex B]	recede [5x in imp I; 3x in imp II; imp III]

A total of 31 imperative commands are issued to the demon in RR 1953, while 25 are found in Ex 1999. Since they fall within the category of imprecatory formulae, all imperative commands in the major exorcism of Ex 1999 are optional. *Recede* is by far the most popular: it occurs a total of nine times, and in each of the three imperative formulae. In the earlier rite, *recede* appeared only twice, and the reasons why it is now so frequently employed are unclear. Five imperatives from RR 1953 disappear entirely: *audi*, *cede*, *da honorem*

Domini;" Neh [2 Esr] 5:12: "adiuravi eos ut facerent iuxta quod dixeram;" Sg 2:7: "adiuro vos filiae Hierusalem per capreas cervosque camporum ne suscitetis neque evigilare faciatis dilectam quoadusque ipsa velit;" see also Neh [2 Esr] 13:25; Sg 3:5, 5:8, 8:4.

(*Deo Patri*), *time*, and *prosternere*. Each of these appears only once in RR 1953, with the exception of *cede*, which appears therein five times. Note that *time* and *metue* of exorcism A command the demon to fear Christ, in keeping with a theme traced above to Tertullian.[84] Two new imperatives that have no equivalents in the major exorcism of RR 1953 are introduced into that of Ex 1999: *agnosce*, which appears on three occasions, and *obmutesce*. Ex 1999 adjures the demon, "acknowledge" (*agnosce*), in turn, the justice of the Father, the power of Christ, and the Spirit. The command "be silent" (*obmutesce*) may have been introduced on the basis of its scriptural use in the words of Jesus: "obmutesce et exi ab illo" (Lk 4:35).[85]

The word *exire* also merits comment because of its scriptural precedent. The very words with which a demon is cast out are quoted on five occasions in the New Testament, and each time the Vulgate uses this verb. Here are the five instances:

> dicebat enim illi exi spiritus inmunde ab homine (Mk 5:8)
> surde et mute spiritus ego tibi praecipio exi ab eo et amplius ne introeas in eum (Mk 9:24)
> obmutesce et exi ab illo (Lk 4:35)
> praecipiebat enim spiritui inmundo ut exiret ab homine (Lk 8:29)
> praecipio tibi in nomine Iesu Christi exire ab ea (Acts 16:18)[86]

This abundance of scriptural precedent explains the frequent use of *exire* in the major exorcism of RR 1953. Note that *praecipere* also appears in three of these passages. Nonetheless, *exire* is used only once in Ex 1999, while *praecipere* does not occur at all therein.

Commands addressed to the demon are often uttered *in nomine*

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84   One seventh- or eighth-century exorcism of baptismal water has several literary items in common with exorcism A of RR 1953, including the incipit *Exorcizo te*, the commands *time* and *da locum*, the use of *omnis*, and the sign of the cross: Colleccio ad fontes benedicendos, in *Missale Gothicum e codici Vaticano Reginensi Latino 317 editum*, ed. Els Rose, CCSL 159D (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005) § 258, p. 449: "DEINDE FACIS CRVCE DE CRISMA ET DICIS: Exorcizo te, creatura aquae, exorcizo te, omnes exercitus diabuli, omnes potestas aduersariae, omnes umbra daemonum. Exorcizo te in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi nazarei, qui incarnatus est in Maria uirgine, cui omnia subiecit pater in caelo et in terra. Time et treme tu et omnis malicia tua. Da locum spiritum sanctum...."

85   Cf. norm 14, in RR 1953 § 2880: "Exorcista ... jubeat immundum spiritum tacere, et ad interrogata tantum respondere."

86   These texts are taken from the Stuttgart edition of the Vulgate, cited in note 2 above.

or "in the name" of some higher power, which is the ultimate source of the exorcist's authority. The simplest and most ancient expression is *in nomine Iesu*, "in the name of Jesus." This formula is suggested by two scriptural passages that are found in both rites of exorcism: "In my name they will cast out demons" (*In nomine meo daemonia eicient*, Mark 16:17); "even the demons are subject to us in your name" (*etiam daemonia subiciuntur nobis in nomine tuo*, Luke 10:17).[87] Several other scriptural passages indicate that demons are cast out in the name of Jesus: Mark 9:37-38 and its parallel Luke 9:49, Matthew 7:22, and Acts 16:18. Tertullian also specifies that Christian exorcisms "have force from the naming of Christ" in the passage quoted in full above.[88] The following table indicates the use of such formulae in the rites.

RR 1953	Ex 1999
Exorcizo te ... in nomine Domini nostri Jesu + Christi eradicare [ex A]	
Recede ergo in nomine Pa + tris, et Fi + lii, et Spiritus + Sancti [ex A]	Recede ergo, Satan, in nomine Patris+, et Filii +, et Spiritus + Sancti [imp I and III][89]
Adjuro ergo te ... in nomine Agni + immaculati [ex B]	
Recede ergo nunc adjuratus in nomine ejus (Jesus Nazarenus) [ex B]	recede in nomine Iesu Christi [imp II]
Adjuro ergo te ... in nomine Jesu Christi + Nazareni [ex C]	Adiuro te ... in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi [imp III]

In the major exorcism of RR 1953, the demon is exorcized, adjured, or commanded with the imperative *recede* in the name of Jesus or the Lamb on three occasions, and in the name of the three Persons of the Trinity on one occasion. In exorcism B, the demon is addressed as *adjuratus* or "having been adjured" in his name, that is, the name of Jesus, in reference to "I adjure you in the name of the spotless Lamb," which occurs earlier in that particular formula of exorcism.

     Ex 1999 commands *recede* on three occasions – once in the name of Jesus and twice in the name of the three Persons of the Trinity.

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87   RR 1953 §§ 2903-4; Ex 1999 §§ 77, 79.

88   Tertullian, *Apologeticum* XXIII.15-16 (CCSL 1:132-33): "de nominatione Christi ualet."

89   The punctuation differs in the emended text of Ex 2004 §§ 62, 84, and elsewhere: "Recede ergo, Satan, in nomine Pa + tris et Fi + lii et Spiritus + Sancti." The editor(s) of Ex 2004 consistently removed the commas following *Patris* and *Filii* in the trinitarian formula. The punctuation of Ex 1999 had conformed to that of RR 1953.

Adiuro te is stated once in the name of Jesus. Once again, all of these formulae are optional in the rite of Ex 1999. Thus a shift is evident towards placing equal emphasis on exorcisms in the name of Jesus and in the name of the three Persons of the Trinity. While there is precedent for the latter formula in the Latin tradition of exorcisms, that tradition, from the Sacred Scripture to the major exorcism of RR 1953, has prioritized formulae in the name of Jesus. The shift evident in Ex 1999 should be considered in light of the emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit, and indeed on the equation of exorcism with epiclesis, as noted above.

Another means of indicating the power behind the exorcist's command is with the preposition *per* or "through." The following table juxtaposes the use of *per* in the rites under consideration.

RR 1953	Ex 1999
Praecipio tibi ... ut per mysteria incarnationis, passionis, resurrectionis et ascensionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, per missionem Spiritus Sancti, et per adventum ejusdem Domini nostri ad judicium, dicas mihi nomen tuum	
da locum Spiritui Sancto, per hoc signum sanctae + Crucis Jesu Christi Domini nostri [ex A]	da locum Spiritui Sancto, per hoc signum sanctae + crucis [imp III][90] recede per signum sanctae crucis [imp I]
Adjuro te, serpens antique, per judicem vivorum et mortuorum, per factorem tuum, per factorem mundi, per eum, qui habet potestatem mittendi te in gehennam [ex B]	
	recede per fidem et orationem Ecclesiae [imp I and imp II] Exorcizo te per Deum vivum, per Deum verum, per Deum sanctum [imp III]

In RR 1953, the phrase "through this sign of the cross" (*per hoc signum sanctae Crucis*) appears once; in Ex 1999, it appears twice, although on both occasions it is optional. More significantly, Ex 1999 introduces something new in both imperative formulae I and II by commanding the demon "through the faith and prayer of the

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90   Here and in the subsequent passage, *Crucis* is capitalized in the emended text of Ex 2004, but lower-case in Ex 1999.

Church." The only possible precedents in the previous rite are in the *imperat tibi* formulae of exorcism B, wherein the faith and the intercession of the saints are said to "command" the demon.[91] Although there is precedent for broader employment of *per* formulae in ancient exorcisms, there appears to be no precedent for appeals through the faith and prayer of the Church in general (*per fidem et orationem Ecclesiae*); such a general category would encompass sinners within the Church militant.[92] A fourth-century collection of exorcistic formulae attributed to "the martyr Cyprian," for example, expels the demon through the mysteries of Christ's passion, resurrection and ascension, and through the prayers and power of angels, patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, and saints – many of whom are named.[93] Not once in these lengthy formulae is the demon commanded "through the faith and prayers of the Church."

The formula "I exorcize you through the living God" of Ex 1999 is loosely parallel to "I adjure you ... through the Judge" of RR 1953. Yet the essential notion of judgment has been excised. Judgment is invoked as a means of intimidating the demon in both the *Praecipio tibi* and the *Adjuro te* formulae of 1953. That rite includes numerous references to the demon's judgment and punishment. "Depart (*discedite*) from me, ye cursed, into the everlasting fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels" (Mt 25:41), for example, is directly quoted for the demon in exorcism C.[94] Indeed, this scriptural passage provides the warrant for directing the command *discedite* at the Devil and his angels in the rite.

The notion of eternal fire is one of many evocations of the

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91 RR 1953 § 2918: "Imperat tibi Deus + ... Imperat tibi fides sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et ceterorum Sanctorum +. Imperat tibi Martyrum sanguis +. Imperat tibi continentia Confessorum +. Imperat tibi pia Sanctorum et Sanctarum omnium intercessio +. Imperat tibi christianae fidei mysteriorum virtus +."

92 As an insightful, albeit fictional, demonstration of why demons might not be intimidated by an appeal to "the Church" in general, consider the words of the demon Screwtape in C. S. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters*, letter 2, in *Mere Christianity & The Screwtape Letters, Complete in One Volume* (San Francisco: Harper, 2003) 245: "One of our great allies at present is the Church itself. Do not misunderstand me. I do not mean the Church as we see her spread out through all time and space and rooted in eternity, terrible as an army with banners. That, I confess, is a spectacle which makes our boldest tempters uneasy. But fortunately it is quite invisible to these humans. All your patient sees is...."

93 Orationes exorcisticae Cypriani martyris, in *Enchiridion euchologicum*, ed. Lodi, §§ 674-78, pp. 431-40. Cf. Gellone Sacramentary, §§ 2406-8 and 2411, pp. 356-58.

94 RR 1953 § 2922: "Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus."

demon's punishment found in the major exorcism of RR 1953. It offers fourteen distinct references to the punishment and judgment of the demon. The fires of Gehenna, outer darkness, worms that will not die, and the sharp sword from the Lord's mouth, along with the final judgment, are all mentioned.

RR 1953	Ex 1999
gehennae ignibus [or 2]	
Praecipio tibi ... per **adventum** ejusdem Domini nostri **ad judicium** qui **venturus es(t) judicare** vivos et mortuos, et saeculum per ignem [or 3, ex B, ex C]	Qui **venturus es iudicare** vivos et mortuos et saeculum per ignem [39]
Adjuro te ... **per judicem** vivorum et mortuorum [ex B]	
da locum Christo ... qui te projecit in tenebras exteriores, ubi tibi cum ministris tuis **erit praeparatus** interitus [ex B]	
Quia quanto tardius exis, tanto magis tibi supplicium crescit [ex B]	
Ille enim te divinis verberibus tangit [ex C]	
Ille te perpetuis flammis urget, qui in fine temporum **dicturus est** impiis ... [ex C]	
Tibi enim, impie, et angelis tuis **vermes erunt**, qui numquam **morientur** [ex C]	
Tibi, et angelis tuis inexstinguibile **praeparatur** incendium [ex C]	
Ecce enim dominator Dominus proximat cito, et ignis **ardebit** ante ipsum, et **praecedet**, et **inflammabit** in circuitu inimicos ejus [ex C]	
Ille te excludit, qui tibi, et angelis tuis praeparavit aeternam gehennam; de cujus ore **exibit** gladius acutus [ex C]	

The tradition of exorcisms in general tends to portray the Lord as the Judge who is to come in power and glory. To highlight the meekness and humility of Christ in his paschal mystery, as Ex 1999 does,[95] is to

95   Ex 1999 § 82 refers to Christ as *mitis Agnus*, the gentle or harmless Lamb, and mentions Christ's *humilitas* and *mansuetudo* in an imperative formula addressed to the demon. Consider, by contrast, the conquering Lamb who overcomes seemingly more powerful beasts in exorcism B of RR 1953 § 2918: "Adjuro ergo te, draco nequissime, in nomine Agni

refer to the past, rather than to the present and future glory of Christ and punishment of the demon. By contrast, the words cited above in bold constitute references to future judgment and punishment in RR 1953, including the ancient formula *qui venturus es(t) judicare vivos et mortuos.* In the major exorcism of Ex 1999, that ancient formula appears once: at the end of the priest's preparatory prayer.[96] Because this prayer is to be said *secreto* or silently, its use changes markedly: it is no longer employed to intimidate the demon with the prospect of coming judgment and fire. Because this prayer is provided *pro opportunitate*, the formula may not be said at all, despite the fact that it constitutes the sole reference in Ex 1999 to future punishment or judgment. There is, however, one clear reference to a judgment of the demon that has already taken place: according to imperative formula I, God "condemned" the demon "with just judgment."[97] Thus Ex 1999 portrays the demon's judgment as an event of the past rather than of the future, while avoiding any mention of its punishment.

Consider the words of the demonic Legion in the Gerasene demoniac as related in Matthew 8:29: "Have you come here before the time to torture us" (*Venisti huc ante tempus torquere nos*)? These words indicate that at some future point the demons will be punished to a greater degree than they are now or were previously, and that they know it. Exorcism C of RR 1953 quotes the words, and exorcism B clearly alludes to the passage.[98] Yet this major pericope depicting Christ's power as exorcist has no presence in Ex 1999: it is neither quoted nor mentioned in the texts of the rite or in the introductory materials.

Not only does Ex 1999 avoid references to the demon's present and future punishment and judgment, but it also omits biblical passages depicting struggles with the demon that occur after Christ's passion, death, and resurrection. The omission proceeds in part by eliminating the scriptural figures that represent the demon or the demon's influences, and those that represent the exorcist. RR 1953 contains several of these figures:

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immaculati, qui ambulavit super aspidem et basiliscum, qui conculcavit leonem et draconem." Cf. Augustine, *In Iohannis Evangelium tractatus VII*, 7 (CCSL 36:70): "qualis Agnus est, qui leonem occisus occidit? Dictus est enim diabolus leo circumiens et rugiens, quaerens quem deuoret; sanguine Agni uictus est leo."

96   Ex 1999 § 39.
97   Ex 1999 § 62: "iusto iudicio damnavit."
98   RR 1953 § 2918: "nec porcorum gregem ingredi praesumebas."

Figure of the Demon	Figure of the Exorcist
Pharaoh (or 2 and ex C)	Moses
King Saul (ex C), see 1 Sam 16:23	David
Judas Iscariot (ex C), see Lk 22:3	
Simon the magician (ex C), see Acts 8:9	Peter the Apostle
Ananias et Sapphira (ex C), see Acts 5	Peter the Apostle
Herod (ex C), see Acts 12:23	
Elymas the magician (ex C), see Acts 13:8-11	Paul the Apostle
Pythonissa [the slave girl] (ex C), see Acts 16:16-18	Paul the Apostle

RR 1953 considers Judas Iscariot and Herod to have been possessed, but provides no indication that they were exorcised; hence they are not accompanied by figures of the exorcist. None of these scriptural figures of the demon, the possessed, and the exorcist appears in Ex 1999.[99] This change avoids associating any particular human being

99 *Foi chrétienne et démonologie* reflects a similar trend insofar as it jumps from the Gospels to Paul's letters, thereby omitting any mention of exorcisms in the Acts of the Apostles. Furthermore, this document entirely avoids discussing the possibility of possession after Christ's earthly ministry, the rite of major exorcism, and the damnation or punishment of demons. In the end, the Holy See's study simply reaffirms the doctrine of Lateran IV (1215), which teaches that demons exist and are spiritual beings, that they were created by God, and that God created them good by nature (see especially pp. 844-50, 862). In so doing, *Foi chrétienne et démonologie* effectively addresses a tendency, current among theologians of the late twentieth century, to reduce demons to mere symbols or abstractions. Nevertheless, the document evinces, particularly with regard to the topic of possession, traces of a minimalist demonology which arises from a selective reading of evidence from Scripture and Tradition, and which appears to underlie Ex 1999. The elimination of the order of exorcist effected by Pope Paul VI's motu proprio *Ministeria quaedam* (15 Aug 1972) can also be interpreted as a "reluctance" to admit the reality of diabolical possession, as for example by J. Dallen, "Exorcism: Liturgy," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 5, p. 553. Pope John Paul II provides a corrective to such interpretations of *Ministeria quaedam* and goes a step further than *Foi chrétienne et démonologie* when he presents "la verità che la Sacra Scrittura ha rivelato e che la Tradizione della Chiesa ha trasmesso su satana" in a general address titled "La caduta degli angeli ribelli" (13 Aug 1986), in *Insegnamenti di Giovanni Paolo II*, vol. 9.2, *1986 (luglio-dicembre)* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1986) 361-66. While outlining Satan's threefold activity of temptation, demonic possession, and influence on society and history, John Paul II teaches (§ 9, p. 365): "Non è escluso che in certi casi lo spirito maligno si spinga anche ad esercitare il suo influsso non solo sulle cose materiali, ma anche *sul corpo*

with the demon. Nonetheless, it contributes to an effectively system-
atic removal of scriptural material depicting demonic possession and
any struggles with the demonic that take place outside of Christ's
temptation and the paschal mystery.

　　More scriptural figures and allusions drop from the rite owing to
a reduction in the number of titles given to the demon:

RR 1953	Ex 1999
	accusatorem et oppressorem (dep II)
adductor, mortis (ex A)[100]	adductor, mortis (imp III)
adversarius	adversarius
incursio adversarii (ex A)	
vetus adversarius (or B)	vetus adversarius (dep I)
angelis tuis (3x in ex C)	
apostatam (or 2)	
aspidem (ex B)	
auctor incestus (ex C)	
basiliscum (ex B)	
bestiam (or 2)	
caput, sacrilegiorum (ex C)	
causa discordiae (ex A)	
daemon/daemonium	daemon/daemonium
crudelem daemonem (or 3)	daemonia (39)
daemones (or 3)	daemones (39)
daemonio meridiano (or 2)	
	daemonum venantium (50)
	deceptor humani generis (imp I)
declinator, justitiae (ex A)	
diaboli (or B)	diaboli (2x in dep I; dep II; dep III)
dirissime (ex B)	
doctor, haereticorum (ex C)	
draco	draco
draco nequissime (ex B)	
draconem (ex B)	
	maledicte draco (imp III)
nequissimum draconem (or 2)	
excitator dolorum (ex A)	excitator dolorum (imp III)
filius iniquitatis (§ 2894)	
fomes vitiorum (ex A)	
hostis, antiquus terrae (or B)	
hostis generis humani (ex A)	hostis humani generis (imp III)
	hostis humanae salutis (imp I)
impie (2x in ex C)	

dell'uomo, per cui si parla di 'possessioni diaboliche.'"
　　100　In this table, a comma signals that I have reversed the order of the
words in the rite in order to list the noun indicating the demon first, thereby
allowing a convenient presentation of the titles in alphabetical order.

impiissime (ex B)	
incitator invidiae (ex A)	
incursio satanae (ex C)	
inimicus	inimicus
inimice fidei (ex A)	inimice fidei (imp III)
	vetus hominis inimice (imp II)
virtutis inimice (ex B)	virtutem inimici (§ 39)
	inimico (dep III)
inventor, totius obscoenitatis (ex C)	
legio (ex A)	
legionibus (ex C)	
leonem (ex B)	
magister, actionum pessimarum (ex C)	
maledicti (ex C)	
	Malo (64)
	maligni (dep I)
origo avaritiae (ex A)	
partes adversae (§ 2910)	partes adversae (§ 58)
	pater mendacii
	pater mendacii (imp II; imp III)
	patre mendacii (dep I)
persecutor, innocentium (ex B)	
phantasma (ex A; ex C)	
princeps maledicti homicidii (ex C)	
	potestate, aliena (dep I)
	princeps huius mundi (imp I)
proditor gentium (ex A)	
radix, malorum (ex A)	radix, malorum (imp III)
raptor, vitae (ex A)	
rugientem, illum (or 2)	
satan/satanas	satan/satanas
	satan (4x in imp I; imp II)
satana (ex A)	
satanas (or 3)	satanas (§ 39)
	satanae (2x in § 56,
	renunciations)
scelerate (ex C)	
scorpiones (or 3)	
seductor	seductor
seductor hominum (ex A)	seductor hominum (imp III)
seductor (ex B and ex C)	
serpens	serpens
serpentes (or 3)	
serpens antique (ex B)	serpentis antiqui (dep I)
spiritus immunde	spiritus immunde (imp II)
spiritus immunde (Praec)	
immundum spiritum (or A)	immundo spiritu (dep I)
immundissime spiritus	immundissime spiritus (imp III)
(ex A; ex C)	

immundi spiritus (or B)	
immundis spiritibus (ex B)	
	spirituum, infernalium (dep II)
spiritus iniquitatis (§ 64)	spiritus iniquitatis (or post lib)
	spiritum malignum (§§ 39, 48)
	spiritus, malignos (§ 59)
tentator, impius (or B)	
transgressor (ex B)	
tyrannum (or 2)	

Ex 1999 utilizes a number of titles that are not found in RR 1953. Several of them represent new combinations of terms that are found in the earlier ritual, including *malignos spiritus* (59), *spiritum malignum* (39, 48), *vetus hominis inimice* (imp II), and *deceptor humani generis* (imp I). Two additions found only in Ex 1999 represent the introduction of titles with clear scriptural precedents: *princeps huius mundi* (imp I; see Jn 12:31, 14:30, and 16:11) and *pater mendacii* (imp II, imp III, see also dep I; see Jn 8:44). The rite of 1999 decidedly favors several terms that occur rather infrequently in RR 1953: *daemon/daemonium*, *diabolus*, *pater mendacii*, and *satan/satanas*, the last of which which now occurs eight times. Some titles are retained but used less frequently, such as *spiritus immunde*.[101]

   On the other hand, numerous titles that appeared in the previous rite are not represented in Ex 1999. This includes *legio* and titles that associate the demon with vices or certain types of human beings: *princeps maledicti homicidii*, *innocentium persecutor*, *auctor incestus*, *incitator invidiae*, *totius obscoenitatis inventor*, *causa discordiae*, and *haereticorum doctor*. The term *draco* is reduced from three occurrences to one, while the use of non-mythical animals as figures of the demon entirely disappears: *aspis*, *basiliscus*, *bestia*, *scorpio*, *leo*, and, by extension, *rugiens*. Several of these figures have clear scriptural precedents. Consider, for example, Psalm 90 (*Qui habitat in protectione Altissimi*), which is imbued with diabological import because Satan cites it when tempting Christ: "in their hands they will bear you up, lest you strike your foot against a stone. You will walk upon the asp and the basilisk, and you will trample the lion and the dragon."[102] The lion also appears in

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101   The use of this title in exorcistic formulae begins as early as the sepulchral inscription dated to the second century, cited as Exorcismus, in *Enchiridion euchologicum*, ed. Lodi, § 272, p. 150: "vede ergo, / inmondissime spirete Tartaruce."

102   Ps 90:12-13: "in manibus portabunt te ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum / super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem," my translation; see Mt 4:6 and Lk 4:11. Psalm 90 is listed in the major exorcism of RR 1953 § 2928 and is included, *pro opportunitate*, in

1 Peter 5:8, which describes "your adversary" the Devil as a "roaring lion." Yet *leo*, *adversarius*, *rugiens*, *aspis*, and *basiliscus* are absent from the exorcistic formulae of Ex 1999. This lacuna may have been occasioned by the principle that dictates the omission of references to demonic action in post-resurrection Christian times.

The final table exhibits phrases with main verbs in the third person that are addressed to the demon in order to describe what God or the Church has done, is doing, or will do to it.

RR 1953	Ex 1999
Imperat tibi	tibi imperat
Ipse (Dominus noster Jesus Christus) [ex A]	Dominus noster Iesus Christus, sapientia Patris et splendor veritatis [imp II]
	Christus [imp III]
Deus [ex B]	
majestas Christi [ex B]	
Deus Pater [ex B]	
Deus Filius [ex B]	
Deus Spiritus Sanctus [ex B]	
sacramentum crucis [ex B]	
fides sanctorum [ex B]	
Martyrum sanguis [ex B]	
continentia Confessorum [ex B]	
pia Sanctorum et Sanctarum omnium intercessio [ex B]	
christianae fidei mysteriorum virtus [ex B]	
Verbum + caro factum [ex B]	
natus + ex Virgine [ex B]	
Jesus + Nazarenus [ex B]	
Ille te	
divinis + verberibus tangit [ex C]	
perpetuis flammis urget [ex C]	
ejicit [ex C]	
expellit [ex C]	
excludit [ex C]	
	tibi praecipit Iesus Christus [imp II]
qui te	qui te
de supernis caelorum in inferiora terrae demergi	de supernis caelorum in inferiora terrae demergi

Ex 1999 § 50; the point here is that the figures found in the Psalm (excepting the dragon) are not found in the exorcistic formulae of Ex 1999. By contrast, see exorcism B of RR 1953 § 2918, quoted in note 95 above.

		praecepit [imp III]
praecepit [ex A]		
habet potestatem mittendi te in gehennam [ex B]		
Cruci suae subjugavit [ex B]		
spoliavit [ex B]		spoliavit in cruce [imp I]
victum ligavit [ex B]		
projecit in tenebras exteriores [ex B]		
exire praecepit ab homine [ex B]		
in tuis sedibus vicit [ex C]		in deserto vicit [imp I]
in abyssum demersit [ex C]		
fugavit [ex C]		
damnavit [ex C]		
manifeste stravit [ex C]		
percussit [ex C]		
caecitatis caligine perdidit [ex C]		
exire praecepit [ex C]		
		in horto superavit [imp I]
		eiecit [imp II]
	te iubet Dominus noster Iesus Christus [imp II]	

The *imperat tibi*, which appears fifteen times in the major exorcism of RR 1953, is reduced to two occurrences (as *tibi imperat*) in Ex 1999. In the earlier rite, the demon was commanded not only by the Persons of the Trinity in their divinity and the Incarnate Word, but also by "the sacrament of the cross," the faith of the saints, the blood of the martyrs, the intercession of all the saints, the continence of the confessors, and the power of the mysteries of the Christian faith.

As a final grammatical point, RR 1953 addresses several questions to the demon. In fact, all three formulae of exorcism pose rhetorical questions to the demon. Exorcism A asks, "why do you stay and resist, when you know that Christ the Lord destroys your ways?" In exorcism B the exorcist poses the following questions: "But why do you savagely resist? Why do you rashly refuse?" And in exorcism C one finds, "But why do you delay here longer?"[103] The major exorcism of Ex 1999, by contrast, poses no questions to the demon.

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103   RR 1953 § 2914: "quid stas, et resistis, cum scias, Christum Dominum vias tuas perdere?" § 2918: "Sed quid truculente reniteris? quid temerarie detrectas?" § 2922: "Sed quid diutius moraris hic?"

Conclusion[104]

The rite of major exorcism of Ex 1999 can be summarized in one word: *celebratio* or "celebration." An editor who emended the introduction for the 2004 edition found problematic the designation of major exorcism as *celebratio liturgica* or "liturgical celebration," and so changed it to *actio liturgica* or "liturgical action."[105] The notion of exorcism as "celebration" remains, however, in several places, including a rubric affording the exorcist an opportunity to prepare the congregation "for the celebration."[106] In fact, this word summarizes the radical difference in theological tone between the major exorcism of Ex 1999 and that of RR 1953.

The major exorcism of RR 1953 is a weapon for the priest-exorcist acting by the power of Christ and confronting the demon who is personally present there and then. For the sake of liberating a man held in bondage, the exorcist, by ancient and explicitly imperative formulae, commands the demon to depart. The name of Christ and the threat of impending judgment and punishment are invoked to intimidate the demon and to illustrate the power behind the commands. The texts boldly employ language and imagery drawn from Vulgate scriptural pericopes recounting exorcisms and the ongoing struggle with the demon even after the accomplishment of Christ's paschal mystery.

The major exorcism of Ex 1999 is a sacramental deriving its force from the supplication of the Church, particularly as manifest in "deprecatory" or "supplicating" formulae. By means of this rite, the Church celebrates Christ's temporally past victory over evil through

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104   I express my thanks to those colleagues who have provided invaluable comments on drafts of this essay: Stephen Beall, Robert Fastiggi, Michael P. Foley, Samuel Weber, o.s.b., and a classicist who wishes to remain anonymous. I also thank Fr Neil J. Roy, who has far exceeded the role of editor with his help preparing this essay for publication. The paper was first presented at the conference of the Research Institute for Catholic Liturgy, "*Sacrificium laudis*: The Medina Years," in Clarkston, Michigan, in October 2005; it benefited from the questions and suggestions of several conference attendees.

105   Ex 1999 § 11: "Inter haec adiutoria, sollemnis, quod et magnus appellatur, praecellit exorcismus maior, qui celebratio liturgica est." In the emended text of Ex 2004, this sentence remains the same except for the substitution of *actio* for *celebratio*.

106   Ex 2004 § 40: "Exorcista al [sic] locum celebrationis accedit....Tunc potest fidelem a diabolo vexatum ceterosque adstantes, brevissimis verbis atque humaniter, ad celebrationem disponere;" Ex 2004 § 35: "Si ad exorcismum celebrandum quidam selecti circumstantes admittendi videntur...."

the paschal mystery. Instead of addressing the demon, an act now entirely optional, the major exorcism of 1999 asks God the Father, with repeated epicleses, to send the Holy Spirit upon the vexed Christian, while anamnetically calling to mind Christ's victory in the paschal mystery and the vexed Christian's entry into it through baptism. The rite bypasses key scriptural passages, including the cure of the Gerasene demoniac and the exorcisms related in Acts. Also absent from Ex 1999 is the abundance of biblical figures of the demon and scriptural language depicting the ongoing struggle with the demon that remained in RR 1953. Ex 1999 also departs from Scripture and the tradition of major exorcisms by altering the grammar of exorcism through new uses of such verbs as *adjuro*, through drastic reduction of third person verbs describing what God or the Church does to the demon, through the disappearance of verbs such as *praecipio*, and through shifts in the use of *per* formulae.

The formulae of the major exorcism in RR 1953, which can be traced to the very origin of Latin liturgical books, do not support the theological understanding of exorcism evinced by such scholars as Balthasar Fischer and Achille M. Triacca, who worked on revising the *Rituale Romanum* after the Second Vatican Council. The ancient formulae, therefore, were discarded. Only scattered phrases drawn from them survive in the major exorcism of Ex 1999/2004, above all in optional imperative formula III. In short, careful theological, historical, and literary analyses demonstrate that the rite of major exorcism was not, in accordance with the mandate of the Second Vatican Council, "revised carefully in the light of sound tradition."[107] Rather, the rite of major exorcism was rewritten in order to accommodate experimental and tendentious opinions on possession and exorcism. It is to the credit of Cardinal Medina Estévez and then-Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger that they ensured exorcists the world over the use of the reliable rite of exorcism in the *Rituale Romanum* of 1953.

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107   Vatican Council II, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum concilium* 4, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2, *Trent to Vatican II*, ed. and trans. Norman P. Tanner (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990) 821: "optat ut, ubi opus sit, caute ex integro ad mentem sanae traditionis recognoscantur et novo vigore, pro hodiernis adiunctis et necessitatibus, donentur."